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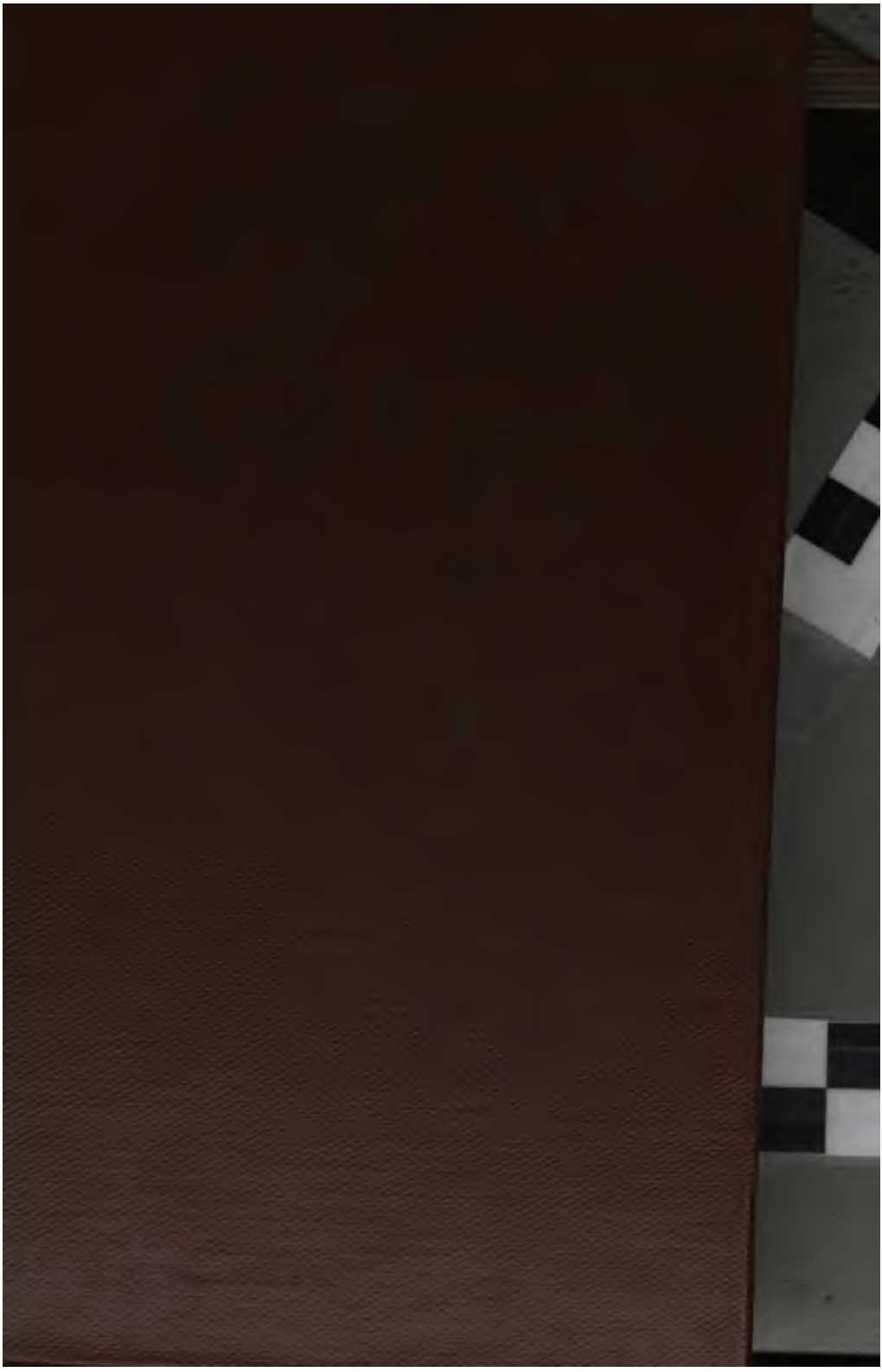

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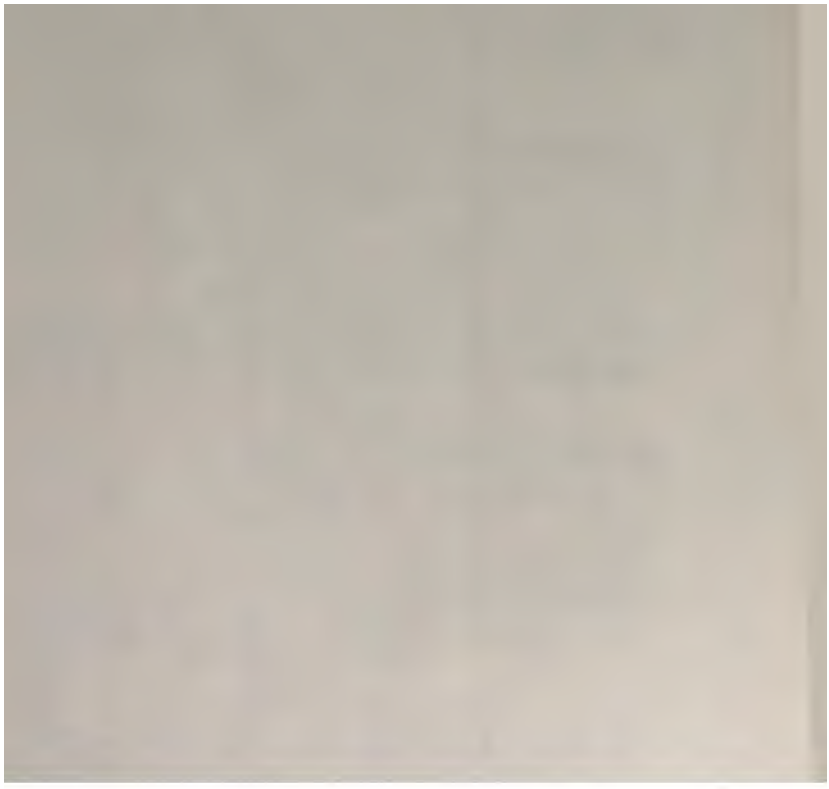

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A

COLLECTION

OF

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

Mr. JOHN NIEUHOFF's Voyage to, and Account of BRASIL, in SOUTH AMERICA.

MR. John Nieuhoff, born at Uſen in the earldom of Benthem, and deſcended from a reputable family, engaged in the Dutch Weſt India company's ſervice as ſupercargo, on the 24th of October, 1640, and ſailed the ſame day out of the Texel, in a ſhip called the Roebuck, of twenty-eight guns, and one hundred and thirty men. Nothing remarkable occurred till the 6th of November, when they were attacked by two Turkiſh pirates, whom, after a very warm engagement, they obliged to ſheer off.

After a voyage of ſeven weeks and one day, without any other material incident, they made the coaſt of Braſil, having in their courſe touched at an iſland called Fernando, fifty leagues from thence; which iſland, about the year 1630, was inhabited by the Dutch, but deſerted by them a few years after, on account of rats that ſwarmed there, and plundered the earth of its produce. After the Dutch had forſaken this land of vermin, the council of Braſil appointed it the receptacle of malefactors; who, on

being exiled there, were furniſhed with inſtruments neceſſary to work a ſubſiſtence out of the bowels of the earth.

About the latter end of Auguſt, 1643, Mr. Nieuhoff was ordered on a trading voyage to the iſland of St. Thomas; for which purpoſe he was furniſhed with a ſhip, and a cargo of fullers earth, to be there exchanged for black ginger and ſugar, the principal commodities of the place.

St. Thomas is thirty-ſix leagues in compaſs, of a circular form, and very fertile in ſugar and black ginger: in the midſt of this iſland there are mountains conſtantly covered with ſnow, though the adjacent vallies, as may be expected under the line, are ſcorched with exceſſive heat. The air is unhealthy, eſpecially to foreigners.

After a voyage of three months, Mr. Nieuhoff arrived ſafe at Braſil, having fulfilled the purpoſe for which he had embarked.

Braſil, ſo called by the Portugueſe from the wood of that name which abounds there, was originally diſcovered in the year 1500 by Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, who gave it the name of Santa Cruz: as to its extent, geographers materially diſagree; but, according to the moſt authentic calculation, it meaſures from the river Para to the river Capibari, ſituated north and ſouth, three hundred and ſeventy-five leagues; the extent from eaſt to weſt is more doubtful, but computed at ſeven hundred and forty-two leagues.

The Portugueſe have divided Braſil into fourteen diſtricts, which they call Kapitanas or captainſhips, each of which is watered by ſome conſiderable river, with other ſtreams of leſſer note. The river named St. Francis, claims precedence of all others in this country in point of ſize; yet, though it is broad and deep, ſhips of burden are prevented from entering it by ſands which choak up its mouth. In the lake whence

whence this river takes its riſe, there is a large quantity of gold duſt found, ſuppoſed to be waſhed down by the rivulets which glide through the caverns of the Peruvian mountains. It is worthy of obſervation, that the river St. Francis rolls the largeſt ſtream at that ſeaſon of the year when rains ſeldom fall; which is attributed to the vaſt quantity of ſnow diſſolved by the ſummer ſun upon the mountain tops.

Six of the captainſhips already mentioned, were under the government of the Dutch Weſt India company, during their poſſeſſion of this place; and were diſtinguiſhed from the other eight by being ſtiled the Northern Braſil; thoſe belonging to the Portugueſe were called the Southern.

The Dutch captainſhips extended along the ſea-coaſt from north to ſouth, one hundred and ſixty or one hundred and eighty leagues; each of them being divided into ſeveral ſmaller diſtricts, called by the Portugueſe Fregeſias, and by the Dutch Fregeſien.

The captainſhip of Seregippe del Rey, likewiſe called Carigi from a lake of that name, lies in the ſouthern part of Braſil, upon the river of St. Francis near the ſea-coaſt; in extent thirty-two leagues, and has in it a Fregeſia called Porto Calvo, in which there is a village named Villa de Bon Succeſſo de Porto Calvo, ſituated upon a riſing ground, near four leagues from the ſea-ſhore, and fortified with two forts built by the Dutch: the village contains two ſtreets, and is ſupplied with a good air by the ſea breezes that fan it.

This captainſhip was ſubjected to the Spaniards or Portugueſe, by Chriſtovan Barros, who was rewarded for his ſervice with a conſiderable tract of land, and a power to ſettle colonies on it; many perſons repaired thither from the Bay of All Saints, and ſhortly built a ſmall town, which was, on the 24th of December, 1637, laid waſte by the Dutch.

Parnambuko, one of the largeſt Dutch captainſhips, which derives its name from the hidden rocks

and ſhelves that lurk in the entrance of the harbour, ſtretches above ſixty leagues along the ſea-coaſt, and is ſubdivided into eleven ſmaller diſtricts; among which thoſe called Olinda and Garazu are the principal.

At a ſmall diſtance from the Receif or Maurice town, on the north ſide, lie the remains of that once celebrated city Olinda; from whence formerly the whole trade from Braſil to Europe was carried on.

This city, which ſtood upon divers hills of eaſy aſcent toward the ſea, but ſteep and craggy toward the land, contained two thouſand inhabitants, beſide the clergymen and ſlaves; on the land ſide it was defended by ſeveral baſtions, which, from the unevenneſs of the ground they ſtood upon, were not ſtrictly uniform; however, their ſituation gave them additional force.

The whole diſtrict of Parnambuko is well ſtocked with various kinds of fruit and cattle; the vallies afford excellent paſturage, and the mountains teem with richer minerals than are to be found in any other of the captainſhips.

Garazu, properly ſtiled a village, lies about five leagues from Olinda, upon the ſhore oppoſite to the Iſle of Tamarika, and upon a river of the ſame name; it was formerly inhabited by Portugueſe mechanics, but being ſubjected to the Dutch in 1633, ſeveral rich families of that people ſettled there.

The Receif, from the Latin word *recipere*, to receive, in point of ſituation, is the ſtrongeſt place in Braſil, beſide that it has the advantage of ſeveral contiguous forts; but to give as clear an idea as poſſible both of this place and Maurice Town, it will be neceſſary to obſerve, that the whole coaſt of Braſil is bordered by a thick and flat ridge of rocks, which in ſome places is twenty, and in others thirty paces broad; however, there are paſſages through which the ſhips approach the ſhore, and one of theſe paſſages is about a quarter of a mile to the north of Receif.

Between the rocky ridge and the ſhore, there is a ſmall iſland of a league in length, and two hundred paces in breadth, which the Dutch call the Sandy Receif, to diſtinguiſh it from the other named the Stony Receif. On the extreme point of the Stony Receif, to the left as we enter the harbour, there is a large ſtrong caſtle, well ſupplied with artillery; which, from the complicated ſtrength of art and nature, is deemed impregnable.

To the ſouth of the Receif, and oppoſite to it, lies the iſle of Anthony Vaez, a title derived from its original poſſeſſor; which in circumference meaſures about half a league on the eaſt ſide. Count Maurice laid the foundation of a city, which he honoured with his own name; and the decayed churches and monaſteries of deſerted Olinda furniſhed materials for building on this more favourite ſpot: on the weſt ſide it is environed with a moraſs, on the eaſt bounded by the ſea, and to the north and ſouth ſecured by bulwarks.

Maurice town was defended by two forts, called Frederic Henry, and fort Erneſtus.

The iſle of Anthony Vaes being joined to the continent by a bridge; it was alſo thought neceſſary to connect the Receif to the ſaid iſland by another bridge, to facilitate the carriage of ſugar cheſts, which could not be tranſported but with extreme hazard, except at low water. The neceſſity of ſuch a bridge being admitted, the great council and governor count Maurice, at a very conſiderable expence, effected the work in about two months, and impoſed a toll on all paſſengers to reimburſe the public funds.

The river Kapiviribi, ſo called from a kind of ſea hogs often found in it, ſkirts Maurice Town; upon a branch of this river, which runs into one called Affogadoes, ſtand two forts, named Fort William and Fort Baretta. In the middle of the iſland count Maurice erected for himſelf a moſt magnificent palace, that coſt him, as is reported, ſix hundred thouſand

florins. Beſide this, count Maurice had another ſeat, chiefly appropriated to the ſummer ſeaſon, at the foot of the bridge over the river Kapiviribi, which the Portugueſe called Baa-viſta, i. e. Fair Proſpect. Upon the Sandy Receif ſtand two other forts, one the Sand, another Bucin Fort; and a third, called Wardenburgh, ſtands between the continent and the Sandy Receif.

In the diſtrict of Parnambuko are two woods, called by the Portugueſe the Great and Leſſer Palmairas, or Palm-tree Woods. The leſſer Palmaira is inhabited by negroes, who dwell in a village compoſed of three ſtreets, each half a league in length; they live in huts made of ſtraw twiſted together, and plunder the Portugueſe of their ſlaves: and ſuch as they ſteal from the Portugueſe muſt remain in ſlavery till they purchaſe liberty by ſtealing each of them another ſlave; but ſuch as voluntarily quit the Portugueſe are rewarded with immediate freedom, and the common privileges of that people. Dates, beans, meal, barley, ſugar-canes, tame fowl, (which are very plenty) and fiſh compoſe their general ſuſtenance: they have two harveſts in a year, after each of which they have a week's rejoicing.

In the great Palmaira, the main body of inhabitants number eight thouſand; beſides which, there are ſeveral ſmaller parties of one hundred or fifty each, ſcattered up and down: their habitations lie ſtraggling; they ſow and reap in the woods, and retire to caves, in caſe of neceſſity. Among theſe people it is cuſtomary to count their numbers every night; after which muſter, if none are wanting, they conclude the evening with dancing and beat of drum: theſe alſo ſend ſtrong parties to ſteal or force ſlaves from the Portugueſe. During the government of count Maurice, theſe people were very troubleſome, till he ſent a body of eleven hundred men to ſuppreſs them.

The

The captainſhip of Parnambuko contains ſeveral other ſubdiviſions, which have nothing worthy of particular obſervation.

To the north of Parnambuko lies the diſtrict of Tamarika, ſo called from an iſland of that name which compoſes the chief part of this diſtrict, though it extends thirty-five leagues along the ſea-coaſt upon the continent.

The iſland of Tamarika lies in the ſea, two leagues north of Pomorello; it is eight leagues in length, and near ſeven in circumference; tolerably fertile, and productive of cocoa-nuts, cotton, ſugar, reeds, melons, Braſil-wood, and large quantities of timber for ſhipping. It was looked upon by the Dutch as of great conſequence, and was propoſed as a place of trade to the Receif: which propoſition was rejected for ſeveral reaſons; ſuch as its being leſs convenient than the Receif in many reſpects, and having no advantage over it but in regard of freſh water, wherewith this iſland abounds.

There were ſome pieces of fortification at the mouth of the harbour, ſuch as a quadrangular fort called Orange, and a hornwork; the latter much decayed.

In the iſland there was a ſmall town near a moraſs and the entrance of the river. The town, which was moſtly inhabited by ſoldiers, with the whole iſland, was taken from the Portugueſe by general Schoppe, who commanded the Dutch, and called from him Schoppe's Town. Somewhat higher up the river Tamarika lies an iſland called Magioppe, where is found abundance of mandihoka roots.

Between Pomorello and Tamarika, rolls a river from the continent, called Marafarinha; and half a league within the river Tamarika falls another, called Garraſſore: beſide theſe, there are in the diſtrict we now view, three others, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Goyana, Auyay, and Gramane. Three leagues within the river Goyana, ſtands a town of the ſame name, where the judicial court of the captainſhip is

held; to which place it was transferred from the iſland Tamarika.

The captainſhip of Parayba borrows its name from its capital city, or more properly from a river ſo called, on which the city ſtands. This is deemed one of the moſt northerly diſtricts, lying about five leagues from the ſea.

The captainſhip of Parayba is divided and watered by two large rivers, the Parayba and Mongopoa, or St. Domingo. Parayba lies under the ſixth degree twenty four minutes, four leagues to the north of Cabo Blanco; and diſcharges itſelf by two branches into the ſea. In the winter this river frequently overflows the adjacent country, at ſuch times often deſtroying men and cattle: in the mouth of this river are three conſiderable forts, named Gatarina, St. Antonio, and Reſtinon. Two leagues farther to the north there is a large and commodious bay, where ſhips of burden may be ſafely ſtationed, which the Portugueſe call Porto Licena, and the Dutch the Red Land, from the colour of the ſoil hereabout. Half a league farther north is the river Mongopoa, which has the peculiarity of being wider at the ſource than at the mouth; before which latter there are two ſand banks: and at Receif, two leagues more north, there is another bay, called by the Portugueſe Bahaia de Treycano, or Treaſon: ſeveral more there are, which being immaterial we ſhall not particularize.

There are ſeven villages in Parayba; the principal of which is called Pinda Una, wherein were, in the year 1634, fifteen hundred inhabitants, no other village containing above three hundred: the buildings are very long, with many ſmall doors.

The principal commodities of Parayba are ſugar, Braſil-wood, tobacco, hides, cotton, &c. Near the river ſide a low plain country preſents itſelf to view; however, the ſight is relieved by gradual and agreeable riſings, which appear at a moderate diſtance, and ſerve to vary the proſpect.

The

The captainſhip of Porcigi, called by the Portugueſe Rio Grande, from a river of that name; and by the Dutch, North Braſil; borders to the South upon Parayba, and to the north upon Saira. It is marked out into four diviſions, called after four rivers which run through them, viz. Kunhoa, Goyano, Mumpobu, and Potegy.

The river Rio Grande, called by the Braſilians Potegy, lies at the mouth in 5° 42′ ſouthern latitude: it empties itſelf four leagues above the Fort Theulen, and is navigable to ſhips of conſiderable burden.

Siara, one of the moſt northerly captainſhips, is ſituated upon a river of the ſame name, bordering to the north upon Maranhoan: the extent of this diſtrict is not above ten or twelve leagues: the river Siara empties itſelf about ſeven leagues and a half to the north of the bay Mangorypa, under three degrees and forty minutes ſouthern latitude.

The inhabitants of this captainſhip are of large ſtature; their features diſagreeable, and their ears ſo large, that they hang down on their ſhoulders. The produce of the country is ſugar, reeds, cryſtal, cotton, &c.

Braſil is remarkably fertile in every natural production that can flouriſh in ſuch a climate, and claims the precedence of all other places in the Weſt Indies, for conveniency of harbours to tranſport ſugars; the whole coaſt being full of ſmall rivers, which conduce greatly to the carriage of ſugars at a light expence. It is alſo happily ſituated for Eaſt India ſhips to call at, and to take in freſh proviſions: in ſhort, its great extent and vaſt commercial advantages, were it ſufficiently peopled, muſt ſoon render it a flouriſhing empire, great in itſelf, and terrible to neighbouring nations.

Being ſituated between the equinoctial line and the tropic of Capricorn, this country is ſubject to violent heat, which, however, is ſo well tempered by eaſterly winds off the ſea, that the climate is deemed very wholeſome;

wholeſome; putrid fevers ſometimes prevail, and are attributed to the complicated heat and moiſture of the air, alſo to the exceſſive uſe of raw fruit.

There is a peculiarity in the winds and tides on the coaſt of Braſil, which thoſe who are bound thither ought carefully to obſerve. From February to Auguſt the ſtream runs northerly, during which time there is no poſſibility of ſailing from north to ſouth: from the beginning of September to the end of November the ſtream reverſes its courſe; conſequently there is no ſailing from ſouth to north: the wind always blows with the ſtream.

The inhabitants of Braſil, properly divided, were formed into two claſſes, viz. free-born ſubjects, and ſlaves: the free inhabitants were made up of Dutch, Portugueſe, and Braſilians; of theſe the Portugueſe were much the moſt numerous, and the richeſt: the Dutch merchants, ſelling their goods at a vaſt profit, would no doubt have acquired large fortunes, had they not ſold upon credit to the Portugueſe, who were reſolved never to pay them.

Among thoſe free inhabitants of the Dutch Braſil, who were not in the company's ſervice, certain Jews claimed the foremoſt place, as they carried on a more extenſive trade than any other ſet of people; inſomuch that they purchaſed ſeveral ſugar-mills, and raiſed ſtately edifices for their own habitations in the Receif: theſe people would no doubt have been a great ſtrengthening to Dutch Braſil, had they kept their traffic within reaſonable bounds.

The ſlaves were partly negroes, and partly natives; the latter being either priſoners of war bought in Maranhoan, or in the country of the Tapoyers, where the cuſtom was either to ſell the captives as ſlaves, or put them to death; all other Braſilians enjoying under the Dutch government the ſweets of perfect liberty.

In the time of Nieuhoff there were near forty thouſand negroes employed in the ſugar-mills, between

tween Rio Grande and St. Franciſco, moſt of which were brought from the kingdoms of Congo, Angola, and Guinea: they had a black ſhining ſkin, flat noſes, thick lips, and ſhort curled hair, thoſe being their marks of beauty. The price of theſe negroes roſe and fell according to the circumſtance of things: when trade flouriſhed, one of them would ſell for ſeventy, eighty, or a hundred pieces of eight; ſometimes the price ſtretched to fourteen or fifteen hundred gilders, for ſuch as appeared to be more intelligent, and more capable of ſervice than the general run: but, when trade fell into decay, forty pieces of eight was eſteemed a conſiderable price.

Theſe negroes are very dextrous at ſwimming and diving; the latter of which they are ſo amazingly expert at, that they will bring up a piece of eight from the bottom in deep water: they are alſo good fiſhermen, and earn a conſiderable deal of money in that way.

The natives of Braſil were divided into four ſeveral nations; three of which ſpoke the ſame language, differing only in dialect: but the fourth, named the Tapoyers, were ſubdivided into ſeveral diſtricts, all which differed both in language and manners.

Thoſe Braſilians who reſided among the Dutch and Portugueſe, were middle-ſized, of a ſtrong robuſt make, with black eyes, wide mouths, black curled hair, and flat noſes; which latter circumſtance is here deemed ſo great a beauty, that parents ſqueeze their childrens noſes flat while they are young. They paint their bodies with various colours. Their women are likewiſe of a middle ſtature, well-proportioned, and not ill-featured; they have black hair, but are not born black; however, the exceſſive heat of the ſun gives them a tawny colour. The Braſilians arrive early at maturity, and live to great ages; which muſt be in ſome meaſure owing to the climate, as ſeveral Europeans who dwell there live to an hundred or an hundred and twenty years. There are very few cripples

ples or deformed people to be met with among the Braſilians; a circumſtance which can only be accounted for, from their never ſwathing any part of their children but the feet.

Before the Dutch got footing in Braſil, the natives were abſolutely enſlaved by the Portugueſe, who looked upon the extirpation of them as a maſter-piece of policy; a deſign they put ſo effectually in execution, that the captainſhip of Rio Grande, which in the year 1545, could have turned out one hundred thouſand fighting men, in 1645 could hardly produce more than three hundred. The cruelty of theſe taſk-maſters occaſioned mortal hatred between the Portugueſe and them; though it is to be obſerved, that this extraordinary decreaſe of the latter was in part owing to war, and ſome epidemical diſtempers that broke out among them. The ſmall remainder of them live in villages aſſigned them, where they had their plantations; their dwelling places being made of wood-work, covered with palm-tree leaves. The Braſilians in general had among them a great ſpirit of liberty, eſpecially the Tapoyers: they live among each other in tolerable harmony, except when drunkenneſs, their chief vice, occaſions ſome irregularities. They are very fond of dancing, naturally very indolent, and will ſleep twenty-four hours together; nor would they ſtir then, if different calls of nature did not rouſe them. They keep fires in their huts night and day; by day to prepare their victuals, and by night to fend off the cold air, which is keener among them than in moſt parts of Europe; becauſe the days and nights are here of an equal length, almoſt through the whole year.

The inland Braſilians of both ſexes go quite naked; but nearer the ſea ſhore they wear different ſorts of covering: ſome wear only ſhirts of linen or callico; others, being more polite, chuſe to dreſs in the European manner. The wives always follow their huſband, even to war: the man carries nothing but

but his arms, the woman ſupplying the place of a ſumpter-horſe; for ſhe carries not only proviſions, but ſuch furniture as is judged neceſſary; a child, or children; alſo a parrot or an ape in one hand, and a dog with a ſtring in the other. The hedges or open fields are their only places of accommodation, and friendly ſtreams their only ſupply of drink, except what they get ſometimes in the hollow of a tree, called karrageata. Toward night they always hang their hammocks on trees, or elſe faſten them to poles, and make a ſort of defence from the rain, with palm-tree leaves. When at home, the huſband generally goes abroad in the morning with his bow and arrows to kill ſome birds or beaſts, or goes to fiſh, while the wife either employs her time in working at the plantation, or attends her huſband to carry what game he may kill. The wild beaſts are caught and killed in various manners, ſome by arrows, others by pit-falls, and other devices.

The Braſilians are not much burdened with furniture; their hammocks are the chief part of it; theſe are made of cotton, like net-work, ſix or ſeven feet long, and four broad: the Tapoyers make their hammocks twelve or fourteen feet long, ſo as to contain four or ſix perſons: their cans, cups and mugs are made of calabaſhes, one of which holds thirty or thirty-five quarts, but they generally divide them. The poorer ſort make ſtones in the ſhape of knives; but the better ſort purchaſe knives from the Europeans.

The arms of the Braſilians were only bows, arrows, and clubs: their bows are made of a very hard wood, called virapariba; the ſtrings are made of twiſted cotton, and their darts are made of wild cane, with their points hardened, or armed with fiſh-teeth, called jacru: ſome have ſeveral points, others but one.

They reckon up their age by laying by a chelnut for every year; and they begin the computation of their years with the riſe of a certain ſtar called Taku,

or

or the Rain Star, which appears in the month of May: they alſo call the year by the ſame name. Some of the inland Braſilians ſcarce know any thing of religion: they have a ſlight knowlege of the general deluge, and believe that the whole race of mankind were extirpated thereby, except one man and his ſiſter; which latter was pregnant before the deluge, and theſe by degrees repeopled the world. That they have no notion of a God is evinced by their not having any term for ſuch a being, unleſs the word Tuba, which ſignifies ſomewhat moſt excellent. The thunder they ſtile Tubakununga, which may be interpreted, a noiſe made by the Supreme Excellency. They are unacquainted with any particular ſtate of futurity, but have a tradition among them that the ſouls do not die with the bodies, but are tranſlated to pleaſant regions and vales, placed, as they ſay, behind mountains; where they are to enjoy great pleaſure, as dancing, ſinging, &c. This ſtate of felicity is however confined to ſuch brave men and women as have, during their lives, done meritorious actions; ſuch as killing and devouring many of their enemies: but ſuch as have been idle, are ſuppoſed to be tortured by devils, whom they diſtinguiſh by various names.

Though ſo ignorant of any form of religion, or particular object of worſhip, they have perſons among them whom they call payes, or prieſts; who are uſed as prophetic inſtructors, and carefully conſulted in all material tranſactions, eſpecially thoſe of war. They are ſo afraid of ſpirits, to which they give many different names, that ſome have been killed by the ſhock of an imaginary apparition: however, they do not pay any devotion to the ſuppoſed ſpirits, except now and then that particular perſons pretend to appeaſe their wrath by certain preſents faſtened to ſtakes ſet in the ground for that purpoſe.

Thoſe Braſilians who lived among the Dutch and Portugueſe, did in ſome meaſure follow the dictates

of Chriſtianity, but ſeldom ſhowed any zeal for them, unleſs ſuch as were inſtructed in their tender years: ſome Dutch miniſters and Portugueſe prieſts were tolerably ſucceſsful in making converts, and ſeveral of the natives were brought to read and write by the Dutch ſchoolmaſters.

Many diſtempers common in Europe are entirely unknown in Braſil: ſuch as are natural to their climate, and ariſe from their manner of living, they cure with ſimple medicines; holding all compounds in utter contempt: they take great pains to cure ſickneſs; but if, after a certain proceſs, the patient continues ill, he is to be knocked on the head: for they deem it better to die at once, than linger in pain to the laſt gaſp of natural decay.

Braſilian women are vaſtly fruitful, and have very eaſy labours, in ſo much, that a woman, immediately after delivery, goes to the next river and there purifies herſelf; while the huſband goes to bed, and, for the firſt twenty-four hours, is nurſed with all the care and ceremony uſed with a lying-in woman among Europeans. Mothers lament the death of their children in exceſſive howling for three or four days; and when friends have been long parted, they meet with open arms, tears, and all poſſible marks of affection. The Braſilians, though ſaid to be hereditary man-eaters, yet by mingling with the Dutch and Portugueſe, they have for the moſt part laid aſide that barbarity; becoming as affable and humane as ſome European nations.

The Tapoyers are of much larger ſtature, and greater ſtrength of body than the other Braſilians: they are of a dark brown colour, with black hair, which hangs down over their ſhoulders, being only ſhaved on the forehead parallel to the ears: the reſt of their bodies they keep clear of hair, even their eye-brows being plucked. Their kings and chiefs are diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar by their hair and quality; they are great admirers of long nails.

Royalty

Royalty is diſtinguiſhed by hair cut into the fon of a crown, and long thumb-nails, which latter is a ornament entirely appropriated to kings; the princ of the blood and grandees being allowed long nai on their fingers, but none on their thumbs.

Theſe people having great ſtrength and agilit prince Mauriee ordered two of them to attack a wi bull, which they did accordingly; and, after havir gauled him a good deal with arrows, one of the leaping on his back, ſeized him by the horns, ar threw him down; upon which, being ſeconded b his comrade, the beaſt was killed. They then roaſ ed him under ground, with a fire above him, as the cuſtom is, and then feaſted not only themſelves, b ſeveral other Tapoyers, who were preſent at the con bat as ſpectators.

The Tapoyers of both ſexes, and all ranks fro the king to the peaſant, go quite naked to the loin which they very carefully conceal. The men wear kind of ornament on their heads, made of the fe thers of a bird called guara, from which ſome lor tail feathers of the bird arara hang down on the ſhoulders behind: ſometimes they only tie a ſtrir of cotton round their heads, in which they ſtic party-coloured feathers. They have alſo cloaks mac of cotton thread, framed like a net, and ornamente with feathers of different birds and colours, whic lie together almoſt like fiſh ſcales: on the inſide theſe cloaks, there is a kind of cap or hood to cov the head; ſo that all together, they cloath the wear almoſt from the knees upward: but theſe may pr perly be called holiday ſuits; though ſometimes th wear them to fend off rain, which purpoſe they a ſwer tolerably well.

They have holes in their ears, lips, and cheek from which are hung pieces of wood, or certain c namental ſtones: their bodies are painted all ov with brown coloured juice, ſqueezed from the app janipapa; beſide which, with maſtic or wild hone th

they ſtick feathers of all colours upon their bodies; ſo that at ſome diſtance, they reſemble large birds: they wear round their legs alſo certain bracelets made of the fruit of aguay, and ſhoes made of the bark kuragua. The Tapoyers are not eſteemed ſo good ſoldiers as the other Braſilians, as, in the time of danger, they are much more inclined to exert agility than ſtrength; and indeed they run with ſuch aſtoniſhing ſwiftneſs, that 'tis hard to overtake them; yet they are peculiarly indolent, for rather than take any trouble of cultivation, they live upon the wild products of nature. They have been reported to eat human fleſh; and, that if a woman miſcarries, ſhe immediately eats the child, alleging it cannot have a better grave than the belly from whence it came: but theſe tales are greatly to be doubted.

The Tapoyers, like the Arabians, lead a vagrant life; with this difference, that they keep within particular bounds, changing their habitations according to the different ſeaſons of the year: they are great ſportſmen, and uſe their arrows ſo expertly as to bring down birds flying whenever they pleaſe.

When a woman has conceived, ſhe abſtains from her huſband till after her delivery; nor is it uſual to cohabit while ſhe gives ſuck. If a married woman is known to have unlawful commerce with another man, her huſband may turn her away; but if he catches them in the act of adultery he may kill them both.

In Braſil, there is a kind of batts, the ſize of a crow, which are very fierce and bite violently, with very ſharp teeth; they build in hollow trees and old walls.

Braſil produces many ſorts of wild fowl, which vary but little from thoſe in Europe, one ſmall bird excepted, namely the humming bird; which, though but as big as one joint of a finger, makes a very loud noiſe, and has feathers of ſo variable a hue, that turn the bird which way you pleaſe, it ſhews of a different

colour: wherefore the Braſilian women make one at each ear ſupply the place of pendants.

The rivers and lakes, as well as the ſea-coaſt of Braſil, are extremely well ſtocked with variety of fiſh: there are alſo in this country ſeveral ſorts of ſerpents, among the number of which we find one called gekko, from its conſtant cry: the ſting of this creature proves mortal, unleſs the part wounded is cut away, or burned with a red hot iron. The blood is of ſo poiſonous a nature, that the Javaneſe, for gekkos are plenty in the iſle of Java, dip their arrows in it to render them more mortal; and frequently tie one of theſe animals by a ſtring to the ceiling, that, by irritation, they may cauſe it to vomit forth a yellowiſh liquor, which they catch in pots, and then coagulate in the ſun. The poiſonous quality of this creature is particularly evinced by the dreadful effects from an outward application of its urine, which, upon touching the ſkin, cauſes a blackneſs and a gangrene: the curcuma-root, which we call turmeric, is deemed by the Braſilians the moſt powerful remedy for this poiſon.

The rattle-ſnake, ſo named from a noiſe which its tail makes, moves with ſwiftneſs almoſt equal to flight: the middle of its body is about the thickneſs of a man's arm at the elbow, and tapers both towards the head and tail: it is of a very poiſonous nature; however, as it may be heard at a conſiderable diſtance, there is no great danger. The chief remedy uſed by the Braſilians againſt the venom of this and moſt other ſerpents, is a plaiſter made from ſerpents heads bruiſed and mixed with faſting ſpittle.

The guaku or liboya is a ſerpent of monſtrous ſize, ſome of them being eighteen, twenty-four, nay thirty feet long, and about the thickneſs of a man: by the Portugueſe it is called the roe-buck ſerpent, becauſe they frequently ſwallow deer of that kind, or indeed of any other that come in their way; it is not ſo venomous

nomous as other ſerpents, and the fleſh is by ſome deemed eatable: it is a very voracious ſerpent, and will leap out of the hedges upon men or beaſts. Beſide thoſe which we have already mentioned, there are many other kinds of ſerpents moſtly venomous, and differing only in point of ſize or colour.

The ſenembi, or land crocodile, is a creature frequently met in Braſil, ſeldom exceeding five feet in length; it can live two or three months without food, and affords fleſh as eatable and as white as a rabbit: in its head are ſaid to be found certain ſtones, which, given by two drams at a time, prove an infallible remedy for the gravel.

There are lizards and ſcorpions in Braſil, the former of which are ſometimes four feet in length; theſe, the negroes eat with ſafety, though when alive their ſting is venomous; as is alſo that of the ſcorpions, which in this country grow to a very large ſize. There are many ſorts of piſmires here, for the moſt part of a very different nature and conſtruction from thoſe in Europe, being vaſtly larger and more deſtructive to the fruits of the earth.

Braſil produces plenty of wild beaſts, among the reſt leopards and tygers; the latter extremely fierce, in ſo much that they frequently devour men as well as beaſts: there is alſo another ſavage creature, called Jack over Sea, amazingly nimble, and peculiarly furious, tearing, without diſtinction, every thing weaker than itſelf, to pieces.

Having thus had a general view of Braſil, we ſhall return to Mr. Nieuhoff, who on July the 23d, 1649, embarked on board the Union, captain Albert Jantz, for Holland, and reached, without any material intervening occurrence, the iſland of Corfu, which is one of the nine iſlands called by the Dutch, Flemming Iſlands, now called the Azores.

From the iſle Corfu, Mr. Nieuhoff proceeded forward on his voyage, and reached Fluſſingen ſafely, September the 19th, where he paſſed five days of re-

freſhment, and then continued his journey to his i
tive country, where he had, to recompence the da
gers and fatigues of his voyage to Braſil, the unſpe
able comfort of meeting his parents and many frie
in good health.

SINCE the expulſion of the Dutch from Bra
which happened in the time of Mr. Nieuhoff, a
where their irruptions had given the Portugueſe gr
trouble; they have remained in quiet poſſeſſion of
this vaſt country; which is the reaſon that it is v
difficult, if not impoſſible, to give any diſtinct
count of what has paſſed there ſince that time:
the Portugueſe are, in the firſt place, not much
dicted to writing; and in the next, they are
willing that the world ſhould be acquainted, r
ther than they muſt be from facts, with the ſt
of their colonies in Braſil. It is for this reaſ
that they ſuffer no ſhips to trade thither but th
own; a point in which they are extremely prec
inſomuch that they have made it a kind of cap
maxim in their policy. But nevertheleſs, Engliſh
terlopers, and now and then French and Dutch,
their cargoes in Brazil, eſpecially in time of war; a
in time of peace, when there is not an opportun
of carrying on a clandeſtine trade in this man
they find out another, which is, ſending thi
goods, under the name of ſome Portugueſe m
chant, in the very ſame manner that the goods
ſent to the Spaniſh colonies, under the name of S
niſh merchants.

In both caſes they are no more than brokers; b
to their immortal credit, the faireſt and the moſt
nourable in the world; for they are never know
break their faith, or injure thoſe who truſt them.
to the trade which the Portugueſe themſelves carry
to this colony of theirs, it has for theſe laſt hund

y

years been ſo great, that it is thought to have been the principal cauſe why they have ſlighted that of the Indies, though formerly it conſiſted principally in ſugar, tobacco, Braſil wood, and other commodities of great value; yet within theſe laſt forty years they have received from thence commodities of ſtill greater value, ſuch as diamonds and gold; and of this precious metal we have been thought to have a large ſhare.

All the trade of the five northern captainſhips of Brazil, viz. Paria, Maragnan, Siara, Rio Grande, and Paraiba, is carried on in the laſt-mentioned port, which lies on a river of the ſame name, at the diſtance of about five leagues from the ſea; it is a fair and populous town for that country; and there are annually about ſeven or eight ſhips ſent hither from Liſbon and Oporto, of the burden of two hundred and fifty tons each. Their lading conſiſts chiefly in ſugar, of which they make more in theſe northern captainſhips, than in the ſouth; eſpecially ſince the diſcovery of the gold mines, which has made the inhabitants of thoſe parts of the country negligent. There was a time when the trade of Braſil, in this commodity, was ſuperior to any in the world; for the ſugar of Braſil was the firſt that was known in Europe; and the Portugueſe are ſaid to have ſet up their works in this country, about the year 1580. Their being ſo long in poſſeſſion of this country, has made them more careful and exact in it, than any other nation; ſo that even now the clayed ſugars from Braſil, are whiter and finer than ours; and yet the method they take of doing this, is neither a ſecret, nor difficult to be attained.

When their ſugar is put into their pots, and, by the draining out of the moloſſes, they are ſunk two or three inches below the brim; they ſcrape off that thin hard cruſt that is found on the top of the ſugar; and then they pour in their mixture for refining it: it is nothing more than a fine ſoft clay, beat and mix-

ed with water, till of the conſiſtency of cream, with which they fill up the pan. The white water in ten or twelve days paſſes quite through, and whitens the ſugar as it paſſes; the thick body of the clay lodges on the top of the ſugar, and is eaſily taken off with a knife. Beſide ſugar in this ſtate, they bring likewiſe dying-woods, ſeveral ſorts of drugs, and other valuable commodities from Paraiba; which, however, is the leaſt frequented port in Brazil. Though it is generally allowed that theſe northern captainſhips are the beſt peopled; and that the inhabitants are very eaſy in their circumſtances, though there have not as yet been any mines found, or at leaſt wrought, in theſe parts.

Tamarca, which lies next to Paraiba and the captainſhip of Fernambuca, carry on their trade from the city of Olinda. It is ſeated on a hill not far from the ſea; and this ſituation renders the ſtreets very uneven and incommodious. The port too is but narrow, and the entrance exceeding difficult; yet there is a conſiderable reſort thither of ſhips from the other parts of Braſil, and from the Canaries; and the annual fleet from Liſbon conſiſts generally of about thirty ſail, eſcorted by a man of war. Theſe merchantmen are generally about the ſame ſize with thoſe ſent to Paraiba, and their cargoes are compoſed chiefly of Braſil-wood; which laſt is ſuppoſed to be the beſt of its kind in the world: and therefore we ſhall ſpeak of it ſomewhat more particularly.

There are different ſorts of this wood known in commerce; ſuch as Braſil of Japan, Braſil of Lamon, Braſil of St. Martha, and Braſiletto from Jamaica and the Leeward Iſlands: but the very beſt comes from this country, and the beſt in this country from Fernambuca. The Braſil-tree grows generally in dry barren places, and amongſt rocks; it is very thick and large, and the timber uſually crooked and knotty; the flowers it bears are of a moſt beautiful bright red, have a very fragrant ſmell, and, inſtead

ſtead of hurting, as moſt perfumes do, they cheriſh and ſtrengthen the brain: though the tree is very large, it is covered with ſo thick a bark, that when the Braſilians have taken it off, a tree as big as a man's body is left no thicker than the calf of his leg. The wood is very heavy, dry, and hard; it crackles much in the fire, and ſcarce raiſes any ſmoak when it is burning, becauſe it has ſo little moiſture; there is no pith in it, except what comes from Japan; and therefore it may be doubted whether this be really the ſame kind of wood or not.

That is held to be the beſt that is thickeſt, ſoundeſt, hardeſt, and without any bark ſticking on it: it ought likewiſe upon ſplitting to turn from a pale to a deep red; and laſtly, upon chewing the chips of it, the beſt ſort yields a ſweet ſugary flavour. This wood is put to various uſes by the turners, and takes a very good poliſh; but it is principally employed in dying, in which it yields a very fine bright red. It is from the Braſil-wood that one kind of carmine is made, by beating it in a mortar with leaf-gold, and ſteeping it in white-wine-vinegar, and afterwards boiling it; when it yields a thick ſcum, which, carefully taken off and dried, becomes, when reduced to a powder, carmine; but very far inferior to what is made by another method, from cochineal.

The bay Bahia, as the Portugueſe call it, or bay of All Saints, is about twelve leagues over, but in ſeveral places is ſcarce navigable, on account of ſand banks and ſholes: there are in it ſeveral ſmall iſlands, on which the Portugueſe have tobacco and ſugar plantations; and they have likewiſe very good fiſheries on the coaſt of theſe iſlands, and on the banks. There is an account of a modern voyage to Braſil by a French gentleman, in the year 1717, which is very curious, and from which the reader may learn ſome entertaining particulars, not to be met with any where elſe, or at leaſt not in our language.

" There is not a place in the world, ſays our anonymous voyager, China only excepted, where there is ſo much trouble to get on ſhore, or to know how to act when one is on ſhore, as in Braſil. We came into this bay on the 16th of November; and when we were within a league of the city of St. Salvador, we were reſtrained from proceeding any farther, by a gun fired from a little fort; upon which we came to an anchor, and ſent our ſupercargo aſhore in our boat. He was conducted to an audience of the viceroy, who received him with great ſtate; and yet with much civility. He told his excellency that he came in behalf of ſome French ſhips homeward bound from the Eaſt Indies, that were in many reſpects greatly diſtreſſed, and had no hope of performing their voyage, but from his affording them protection and relief.

" The viceroy continued for ſome minutes ſilent, and then gave him his anſwer to this effect: That he was very ſorry for their misfortune, becauſe his maſter's orders were very preciſe againſt admitting any foreign veſſels into the port; and that he was the more concerned to hear they were French, becauſe it was chiefly on their account that theſe orders were given: ſeveral veſſels of their nation, that had been admitted into the ports of that country upon the very ſame pretences, having carried on an illegal trade, directly contrary to the king's orders, and had ſhipped great quantities of tobacco. He told them farther, that the king's orders were to ſeize and confiſcate without diſtinction, whatever foreign veſſels entered that port, unleſs it plainly appeared they were in ſuch a condition as not to be able to keep at ſea; that therefore they were to have twenty-four hours given them to conſider whether they would come and anchor under the guns of the fort in order to be examined, or to put to ſea without receiving any relief at all. He added, that if the caſe was ſuch as our agent repreſented it, he might very freely enter the port;

port; and, upon examination, all the care ſhould be taken to aſſiſt and ſupply him, that he could deſire; but that he would do well to remember that the Portugueſe were not to be impoſed upon.

"As our ſhip was really in ſuch a condition that we had no reaſon to fear any examination, we made ſail immediately on the return of our ſupercargo, and came to an anchor under the fort. The next day the judge came on board, attended by ſeveral ſecretaries and other officers, all of them very grave ſober-looking people, who examined every thing with all the nicety and ſtrictneſs of an inquiſition. They called for our journals, queſtioned our pilots, mariners, and even the cabbin-boys, particularly as to this point, Whether we had not formed a deſign of touching at Braſil before we were in ſuch diſtreſs? They all anſwered in the negative; but ſtill we had ſo little hopes, that every one in the ſhip, who had it in his power, made them ſome preſent or other, which they took indeed, but ſcarce gave us thanks. At laſt they took their leaves, and ſent ſome carpenters on board, to whom our captains made ſuch an application, that they reported our leaks to be ſo dangerous, that the crew were very much alarmed, and were afraid of ſinking before they got out of the ſhip.

"As ſoon as this report was made, we had leave to go on ſhore, which was refuſed us before; and we had alſo leave given us to take lodgings where we thought fit in the city, but with ſtrict caution not to attempt any kind of trade on pain of forfeiting both ſhip and cargo. The officers put on board the veſſel talked the ſame language at firſt, but ſeeing the impreſſion it made, and that our people were very exact in that particular, they were ſo kind as to explain themſelves the third day, telling us that this was all a farce; that the judges themſelves knew it; that they underſtood by our preſents, we were a good ſort of people, and, that we ſhould have, every night, boats come off with all ſorts of merchandiſe; and that

that they would take care we ſhould run no ſort of riſk, either in buying or ſelling. The boats came accordingly, and though at firſt we were a little ſuſpicious, yet in one week's time their language was perfectly underſtood, and trade went on briſkly every evening, as ſoon as it was dark.

"We imagined there would be no difficulty in procuring carpenters and other workmen, if we gave them good wages, but we were miſtaken; for none of theſe people durſt take our money till they had leave, and that leave was not to be had but by dint of preſents; which being properly beſtowed, the carpenters came on board and went to work. It is literally true in Braſil, that money will do all things; and that nothing is to be done without money. We ſtaid there four months, and found few honeſt men, except the viceroy.

"He was the firſt that ever had that title, all the former governors being called captains-general; and his title was not only higher, but his power much greater than theirs; which was intended to redreſs the many corruptions and iniquities that had crept into the government. The nobleman graced with theſe honours, was the count de Villaverda, one of the greateſt families in Portugal, and was in every reſpect a man of as much worth and honour as his own, or any other country, could boaſt. He found it very difficult to execute his inſtructions, but he certainly ſet all his people a good example; for in the corrupteſt country in the world he behaved with the greateſt probity man could do, and laboured all that was in his power to prevent the bad effects of a contrary conduct in others. St. Salvador is ſituated at the entrance of the bay of All Saints, and has a very fine port, which might be made ſtill more commodious than it is, if art and induſtry gave a little aſſiſtance to nature.

"The city is divided into the upper and the lower: we will begin with the ſecond, in which live all the merchants

merchants and people of buſineſs; and perhaps there is not in the world a place, for its ſize, of greater hurry and trade: it lies at the foot of a hill which is not very high, but exceſſively ſteep. There is in it a royal arſenal, beſide the king's warehouſes and magazines; which are large, well filled, and kept in excellent order. There is likewiſe a very fine yard for building ſhips; and it is very wonderful, that the policy of the Portugueſe, in this reſpect, is not imitated by other nations that have colonies in America; for ſhips are not only built here, at a much eaſier rate than in Europe, but are likewiſe better, and more ſerviceable; becauſe the timber is excellent in its kind, and incorruptible in its nature; ſo that the worms, which in the Mediterranean and the Weſt Indies, make a ſwift and certain deſtruction in all our veſſels, how well ſoever they may be ſheathed, are not able to penetrate theſe.

"The upper town is ſeated on the ſummit of the mountain; the houſes are large enough, and ſome are pretty convenient; but the inequality of the ground on which they ſtand ſpoils their appearance, and renders the ſtreets very diſagreeable: the grand place, or great ſquare, is in the middle of the town; and the viceroy's palace, the town-houſe, the mint, and other public buildings, occupy four ſides, which are handſome enough, but have only this ſingularity in them, that they are built of ſtone brought from Portugal, for in all this country they have none fit for the purpoſe. The city of St. Salvador is an archbiſhopric, which is uſually filled by ſome eccleſiaſtic of the beſt family in Portugal.

"The viceroy has two councils, one of criminal, the other of civil affairs, in which he preſides; but juſtice goes on very ſlowly, and there is not a country in the world where ſo much paper is blotted by the lawyers as here, before any final judgment is obtained. In former times it was here as in the Spaniſh governments, the captain-general durſt not puniſh,

much leſs put to death, any native of his maſter's dominions in Europe; but the preſent viceroy has broke through this, and ventures to condemn murderers and ſuch like criminals, to ſuffer the puniſhments they deſerve; but the proceedings are ſtill ſo ſlow, and the precautions taken ſo many, that there is no ſort of danger of any man's being ſent to the gallows there, before he very richly deſerves it.

"The commerce of Braſil is very conſiderable, and the luxury of the inhabitants as great as can well be imagined. There is an annual fleet which comes from Portugal with European goods, conſigned by the merchants of Liſbon to their factors here, where they never wait long for their cargoes, which conſiſt of ſugar, tobacco, and gold-duſt; all of which are commonly laid up in their magazines ready againſt the arrival of the fleet, with the contents of which they are alſo perfectly well acquainted; ſo that to land the commodities of Europe, and to ſhip thoſe of the country, is almoſt all they have to do.

"The Guinea trade is very conſiderable; thoſe employed in it from this city or bay, bringing over uſually twenty, or five and twenty thouſand negroes every year; and of theſe, fifteen thouſand, at leaſt, are diſpoſed of amongſt the inhabitants of St. Salvador. There is not a Portugueſe there, who has not, at leaſt, a dozen blacks in his ſervice, and they very often employ them in ſuch offices as are equally contrary to the intereſt of religion, and of the ſtate. They arm, for inſtance, ſuch of them as are clean-limbed well-made fellows, each with his ſword and dagger; and as they have a ſort of brutal fierceneſs, which ſome miſcall courage, they are capable of doing any thing they are commanded, of what kind ſoever; and, by this means, they acquire ſuch a habit of doing miſchief, that they very frequently do it without any commands at all. There are alſo abundance of theſe fellows that are free; that is to ſay, have either obtained their liberty, as a reward of their ſervices,

or

or have purchaſed it with money. It is really aſtoniſhing, all things conſidered, that ſome dreadful revolution has not happened to the Portugueſe in this country, from their weak and ill-judged indulgence for theſe negroes, who are much more numerous, as well armed, and, if poſſible, more wicked than themſelves. In ſhort, the far greater part of the Portugueſe ſettled here are hypocrites in point of religion, and totally deſtitute of morals: thieves and ſharpers by profeſſion; and very frequently murderers from reſentment. There is no order, no decency, no obedience known amongſt them; every barber, ſhoemaker, and taylor, ſtruts with his ſword and dagger, and looks upon himſelf as equal to any officer in the colony, becauſe his face is of the ſame complexion. The preſent viceroy is ſenſible of, and deteſts, this conduct. When he firſt came over he laboured to reform it; but cuſtom has ſo ſtrongly eſtabliſhed it, that hitherto his labours have proved in vain.

"Of late years, and ſince the diſcovery of the mines, they have formed a kind of new ſyſtem in living, which ſome time or other will prove fatal to them; for, inſtead of cultivating their plantations, they now ſend moſt of their ſlaves to the mines, upon theſe conditions: their maſter finds them a pound of meal a day, and if they eat any thing elſe they buy it themſelves; in return, the ſlave is bound to pay his maſter daily ſuch a quantity of gold: if he happens to get more, he lays it by, to make up for deficiencies, or, by living hard, to purchaſe his freedom. Thus the maſters are at a kind of certainty, with reſpect to the eſtates; for ſo many ſlaves produce ſo much money certain: but, in the mean time, their ſugar and tobacco is decaying; and, which is much worſe, they are in danger of wanting neceſſary ſubſiſtence; for which they now depend chiefly upon the fleets from Portugal.

"The truth of the matter is, that the people of Braſil love ſhew and magnificence, fine cloaths, jewels, and

and a large train of ſervants, better than what we call good-living. Yet ſome feaſts they have, but feaſts that bring after them a long train of faſts; for every man has his guardian ſaint, upon whoſe anniverſary, perhaps, he ſpends his whole year's revenue, or, at leaſt, the beſt part of it, and never has a good dinner afterwards, except at his neighbours, upon the like occaſion.

"They ſeem to be ſtill under great apprehenſions of being, ſome time or other, attacked in this country; againſt which they are provided pretty effectually, ſince there are very few colonies better fortified, in all reſpects than this, as appears from their works. The garriſon conſiſts of two regiments of foot, three regiments of militia, and a regiment of free negroes, beſide ſome cavalry, which the viceroy keeps up to reſtrain the banditti, who are very troubleſome, and do a great deal of miſchief in the diſtant parts of the colony.

"The better ſort of people in St. Salvador very much reſemble the Chineſe; that is to ſay, they are exceſſively civil and complaiſant to ſtrangers, with a view to obtain from them preſents and gratifications of much higher value than the trifles they beſtow: and, if their expectations on this head are not anſwered, they never fail to give ſtrangers as ſtrong proofs of reſentment, at the end of their acquaintance, as they did of their politeneſs at the beginning.

"There is nothing of the old ſpirit and bravery of the Portugueſe nation now to be ſeen here; on the contrary, the people are all lazy, indolent, and quite given up to their pleaſures: this appears to be owing to their being ſerved with negroe ſlaves; for the ſervility of theſe poor creatures makes their maſters inſolent; and moſt of them keeping ſeraglios of black women, become enervate in their bodies, and loſe all firmneſs and grandeur of mind.

"Upon

" Upon the whole, therefore, unleſs by a conſtant ſucceſſion of wiſe and good governors, the manners of the inhabitants are changed, and their ill-cuſtoms aboliſhed, there will, ſome time or other, either from their want of proviſions, the inſolence of the negroes, or ſome ſuch like cauſe, happen an inſurrection or revolution, which will change the face of affairs here: for that a country, where the inhabitants are plunged into luxury and corruption, ſhould enjoy, for a long ſeries of years, uninterrupted tranquillity, is contrary to all maxims of policy; and, indeed, that private crimes and public peace ſhould conſtantly dwell together, is not very reconcileable to common ſenſe."

To this account we ſhall add a few particulars collected elſewhere.

The city of St. Salvador lies in the latitude of 14° ſouth, and is at preſent the centre of the Portugueſe trade in this part of the world. Authors differ very much in the accounts they give us of the fleets ſent hither annually from Liſbon; but the reaſon is, that the one ſpeak of the whole Braſil fleet, which generally aſſemble in the bay of All Saints, in order to return together to Europe; and the other of the fleet from Liſbon, expreſly deſtined for the bay, which may be about thirty ſail, eſcorted by two men of war, and which uſually ſail about March.

The commodities they carry are wine, brandies, meal, or flour; oil, cheeſe, cloths, ſtuffs, linen, iron rough and wrought, paper, all kinds of kitchen utenſils, laces, and moſt kinds of apparel. On the other hand, they bring from thence the beſt tobacco in Braſil, which is ſo much eſteemed in Europe; ſugar, indigo, balſam copaiba, or capiva, ipecacuanha, Pareira brava, cinnamon, long pepper, ginger, woods for dying, and ſome for inlaying; ambergris, and other rich drugs and perfumes: beſide theſe, they alſo export from hence raw hides, train-oil, and whalefins, abundance of theſe creatures being taken upon this coaſt; and, for theſe forty years laſt paſt, gold, amethyſts,

amethyſts, and diamonds. There are likewiſe ſome ſilver mines in Braſil, which, though not wrought to ſuch profit as to allow the exporting much of this metal to Portugal, yet furniſh ſufficient for home circulation: and of this ſilver, money is coined at St. Salvador, which is current through the whole colony; and which bears on one ſide the arms of Portugal, and on the other a croſs charged with a ſphere, with the following motto: "Under this ſign will I ſtand."

The captainſhips which lie farther to the ſouth, carry on their trade by the Rio Janeiro, ſo called for its having been diſcovered in the month of January, 1515; and which is at preſent become one of the moſt famous rivers in the world. The banks of it are as beautiful and pleaſant as can be imagined; the climate fine, the ſoil extremely fertile, producing ſugar, indigo, tobacco, and cotton, all in very great perfection. It has been likewiſe found, that European corn will grow here with very little trouble, and to great perfection; but for the reaſons already aſſigned, this and all other improvements have been diſregarded; though independent of the gold mines which have been diſcovered in this and the neighbouring captainſhip of St. Vincent, this might be conſidered as the very richeſt part of Braſil. The Portugueſe that are ſettled here are quite a different ſort of people from thoſe in the bay of All Saints; for they are active, induſtrious, well inclined to foreigners, and ſuffer the Indians who live among them to enjoy as much freedom as themſelves, which renders the country a perfect paradiſe: and it is not eaſy to imagine what vaſt cargoes were brought from the Rio Janeiro, before the gold mines in that country were diſcovered.

The city of St. Sebaſtian, which is the capital of this country, ſtands very commodiouſly in 23 degrees of ſouth latitude, on the weſt-ſide of the river, about two leagues from the ſea. This city, which is very well fortified, is the ſeat of a Portugueſe governor, and

and a biſhop's ſee, ſuffragan to the archbiſhop of St. Salvador; there are likewiſe ſeveral other conſiderable towns on the Rio Janeiro, all of which have a large ſhare of trade, as may appear from the number of ſhips which compoſe the fleet ſent hither annually from Portugal, which conſiſts of between twenty and thirty ſail of veſſels, of 500 tons burthen, and are uſually eſcorted by two men of war. The commodities brought from hence are, generally ſpeaking, the ſame with thoſe brought from the bay of All Saints, diamonds only excepted. After having ſaid, it may be naturally expected that we ſhould give the reader ſome account of the diamond mines here, which, however, is a thing very difficult to do, there being very little known of them, with any degree of certainty; but the few circumſtances that we have been able to draw together, in relation to this important article, are theſe.

It is about forty years ago, that ſome precious ſtones were brought to the city of St. Sebaſtian, taken out of a ſmall river lying weſtward of that city, which were, at firſt, judged to be very fine pebbles; but it was not ſo ſoon that they were brought over to Europe. Theſe fine pebbles have been lately found in great quantities; and we are told, that ſome rich planters began to employ their ſlaves in digging the black heavy earth on the ſides of the mountains, from whence this river deſcended, and then theſe ſtones were found in plenty; ſome were very large, but moſt of them of a black or yellowiſh caſt, which hurt their luſtre, and ſunk their value; yet, notwithſtanding this, many of the yellow ſtones were brought to Liſbon, and ſold for topazes.

Afterward the crown of Portugal interpoſed, and the working of theſe mines was forbidden, which, however, did not hinder their coming in conſiderable quantities; for ſometimes it was ſaid, they were found in this or that river, and not dug out of any mine; ſometimes they had other names given them, and

many of them were ſent to St. Salvador, and from thence exported to Europe, under a notion of their coming by the Goa fleet from the Eaſt Indies. This involuntary fraud raiſed their value; and, at laſt, the crown of Portugal became convinced, that ſuch as pretended to great ſkill in ſtones had deceived them; and that ſome of theſe Braſil diamonds were ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed from oriental ſtones: Upon this they altered their meaſures, and it was permitted to ſend over rough diamonds in the Rio Janeiro fleet, under certain reſtrictions; which licence making the value of theſe jewels ſtill more and more apparent, the king of Portugal reſolved to put this trade under a new regulation; which, in all likelihood, has ſubſiſted ever ſince. This new order took place in the year 1740, when his Portugueze majeſty lett theſe mines to a company at Rio Janeiro, for an annual rent of one hundred thirty-eight thouſand cruſades, which is twenty-ſix thouſand pounds of our money, upon condition, that they employed no more than ſix hundred ſlaves at theſe mines; which condition plainly proves, that they are far greater and more conſiderable than they have generally been eſteemed to be.

It is very probable, that the coming of theſe ſtones into Europe may ſink the price of diamonds conſiderably; but it muſt, at the ſame time, be allowed, that it cannot but prove highly advantageous to the Portugueze, ſince it will operate very effectually in their favour, in regard to the balance of trade; for if they diſpoſe of theſe ſtones to any nation, upon whom they have already a balance, they muſt bring money into the kingdom; and if, on the other hand, they can find a way to ſell them, either to us, or to the Dutch, this will leſſen the balance in our favour, and prevent the exportation of gold, which muſt have been otherwiſe ſent abroad, to pay that balance; ſo that, take it either way, the diſcovery of theſe diamond mines is of very high conſequence, and, if wiſely managed,

naged, may prove of prodigious advantage to this nation.

Southward from the captainſhip of Rio Janeiro lies the captainſhip of St. Vincent, the richeſt country in Braſil, perhaps in all South America. It is bounded on the north by the captainſhip of Rio Janeiro; on the eaſt by the ocean; on the ſouth by the new captainſhip, or that ſtiled Del Rey; and on the weſt by the mountains of La Plata, and countries inhabited by various ſavage nations: It extends from the latitude of 22 degrees to 27 degrees ſouth; and is in length, from north to ſouth, about three hundred miles; and in breadth, from eaſt to weſt, in ſome places, near one hundred and eighty miles; but the greateſt part of it is not above half ſo broad.

The town of St. Vincent is ſituated on a very fine bay of the Atlantic ocean; or, as ſome of the beſt maps repreſent it, on a kind of Peninſula, very well fortified. A little to the north-weſt lies the town of Santos, which ſome look upon to be the capital of the province; and which has as fine a port as any in the Weſt Indies, capable of holding the largeſt ſhips, and which might be fortified in ſuch a manner, as to be able to reſiſt any ſtrength, that, either in this part of the world, or from Europe, could be brought againſt it.

MEMOIR concerning the SETTLEMENTS of the JESUITS in PARAGUAY.

THE following memoir ſeems ſo curious in itſelf that it was thought there could be nothing more agreeable to the reader, or more conſonant to the deſign of this work. The author of it was a French officer, who, in the year 1708, was wrecked in the entrance of the river of Plate, and who remained for ſome time in the country which he deſcribes. He drew up this memoir at the inſtance of a French ſtateſman, who intended to have tranſmitted it to the court of Spain, but dying ſoon after, this, with ſome other papers relative to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies came into private hands.

* A. S. E. M. L. C. D. B.

IT is a liberty generally taken by, as well as aſcribed to travellers, that they paint pretty ſtrongly and take a pleaſure in repreſenting things a little beyond the truth, as if thereby they meant to indemnify themſelves for the dangers run, and the fatigues by them endured. It is very probable that I might have fallen into this error myſelf, if I had written for the view of the public; but, addreſſing myſelf to a perſon of ſo illuſtrious a rank, and at the ſame time of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities, I ſhall be very careful to advance nothing, of the truth of which I am not thoroughly

* This is the addreſs in the original.

roughly convinced; neither ſhall I preſume to add any reflections, but content myſelf with barely ſtating matters of fact with as great exactneſs as I am able; being thoroughly ſenſible that you want to be informed as to ſuch things only as you have not ſeen, without needing any helps in diſcovering the lights that may be drawn from them.

It has been the misfortune of the Chriſtian church in America for this laſt century, and perhaps longer, that except the Jeſuits, neither prieſts nor monks have taken any pains either to convert the Indians by their preaching, or to influence them by the regularity of their conduct. The natural conſequence of this hath been, the throwing intirely into the hands of the Jeſuits an affair of the laſt importance, viz. the propagating the faith amongſt the Indians; for which it muſt be allowed, that they have ſhewn themſelves extremely well qualified; of which more convincing evidence cannot be had, than the progreſs they have made in theſe their miſſions. This of Paraguay, concerning which I have undertaken to write, is by far the moſt conſiderable, and, if attentively conſidered, will appear almoſt as remarkable an event as Pizarro's conqueſt of Peru, or Mendoza's ſubduing Chili.

The country under the government of the fathers, lies about two hundred leagues ſouth of Braſil, about the ſame diſtance from the province of Buenos Ayres; one hundred and fourſcore leagues from Tucuman, and about a hundred leagues from the province of Paraguay. The country, which is of vaſt extent, is as pleaſant and as fruitful as can be deſired; watered with variety of rivers, and pleaſant ſtreams, abounding with timber and with fruit-trees, producing abundance of cotton, indigo, ſugar, pimento, ipecacuana, and other drugs of great value. The plains are full of horſes, mules, black cattle, and herds of ſheep; the mountains contain vaſt treaſures of gold and ſilver; of which, however, the fathers ſeem to have no deſire,

ſince, for ought the world knows, not one of theſe mines hath ever been opened or wrought.

Originally ſome forty or fifty families of Indians, having ſhewn a propenſity to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, ſome Jeſuits went amongſt them, accompliſhed that deſirable work; and the peace and happineſs in which theſe people lived after their converſion, had ſuch an effect upon their neighbours, that by degrees the miſſion ſpread, till it attained its preſent extent, which comprehends at leaſt three hundred thouſand families, who are in all things ſubject to the fathers, and who revere them as much as it is poſſible to reverence mortals.

Theſe Indians are divided into forty-two pariſhes, all on the banks of the river Paraguay, and none above ten leagues diſtance from another. In each pariſh there is a Jeſuit, who is ſupreme in all cauſes, as well civil as eccleſiaſtic, and from whoſe deciſion there lies no appeal. By him their caciques, or chief officers, are nominated, as alſo are the inferior ones; and even their military commanders receive their orders from him. Nothing can be better contrived than the regulations under which they live; every family hath its proportion of land and labour, of plenty and of reſt. Induſtry is common to all, yet wealth is attained by none; the product of their harveſt is carried into the magazines of the ſociety, whence the fathers diſpenſe whatever to them appears neceſſary, to every family according to its degree. The ſurplus, which muſt be very conſiderable, the moſt judicious Spaniards at Buenos Ayres conceive it little ſhort of four millions of pieces of eight *per annum*, is ſent either to Cordova, or Santa Fè, there being at each place a procurator-general, who takes care of what belongs to the ſociety, and, as occaſion offers, tranſports their wealth into Europe. It is impoſſible to imagine any thing in the Indies more regular or more magnificent than their pariſh-churches. They are capacious, well built, and moſt magnificently furniſhed; gilding and paintings

paintings ſtrike the eye on every ſide, and all the ſacred utenſils are gold and ſilver; nay, in many of them they are adorned with emeralds and other precious ſtones. Divine ſervice is celebrated with the moſt ſolemn ſplendour. On one ſide of the high altar are tribunes for the civil magiſtrates, on the other ſide are like conveniencies for military officers: as to the father himſelf, his buſineſs is to officiate, which he does twice a-day with the utmoſt gravity. Their muſic, both vocal and inſtrumental, is far from being contemptible; the people having naturally a genius for that ſcience, which the fathers have taken care to cultivate.

The dwelling, or rather palace of this ſpiritual prince, is like the church, a thing extremely grand for the country in which we find it. It conſiſts of various apartments, ſuited to the various functions performed by its maſter. In the morning, after having performed his private devotions, he gives audience to ſuch as have any public buſineſs with him. About noon he hears confeſſions, in which he is very exact, that being the principal pillar on which his ſovereignty reſts. In the afternoon he walks abroad, gives directions, inſpects the public and private affairs of his pariſh; in the evening he catechiſes, explains the principles of the Chriſtian religion, and diſcourſes on moral ſubjects to ſuch as attend him, by rotation. In ſome part of his conduct he is extremely modeſt and praiſe-worthy, in others not a little lofty and aſſuming. To the firſt I refer his ſimple manner of living, faring coarſely, ſleeping moderately, and uſing few or no diverſions, if we except ſuch recreations as he allows to his people, and eſpecially to the youth. I am led to accuſe him of the latter, by obſerving the mighty diſtance at which he keeps his people, cauſing even their magiſtrates to be corrected before him with ſtripes, and allowing the beſt man in the pariſh to kiſs his ſleeve, as the very higheſt honour he is ever to hope for. I might add, deſtroying all notions of property; for, excepting the father himſelf,

ſelf, there is nobody poſſeſſes any thing which he can call his own, nor dares he ſo much as to kill a duck or a chicken who has bred them in his yard.

There is an annual meeting of all the fathers, who then confer on the methods neceſſary to be taken for promoting the common concerns of the miſſion, for making new laws, or aboliſhing old ones, as the neceſſity of affairs may require. This is the ſupreme council, over which, for ought that appears, neither his catholic majeſty nor the pope himſelf has any power. The firſt they have perſuaded, that all intercourſe between the Indians and the Spaniards is dangerous to the ſalvation of the former, and on this pretence have obtained a prohibition to the latter. As for the holy father, he is either ſo thoroughly ſatisfied with the conduct of the Jeſuits, or is elſe ſo little acquainted with it, that he never interferes therewith, but leaves all things to be guided by the order. To this council, or congregation, the caciques are accountable, and from them they receive ſuch orders as concern the miſſion in general; whereas, in matters relating to their particular pariſhes, they are intirely directed by the preſiding prieſt. One great point under conſideration at each of theſe aſſemblies, is preventing ſtrangers from having any intelligence of the ſtate of the miſſion; another, the reſtraining the Indians from learning the Spaniſh tongue, or applying themſelves to any ſtudies, ſave ſuch as may render them ſerviceable to the ſociety; amongſt which they reckon architecture, painting, and muſic; all which they are taught in every pariſh.

The military eſtabliſhment is very formidable; each pariſh hath a conſiderable body of horſe and foot, exerciſed duly, as the Swiſs are, every Sunday evening. Theſe troops are divided into regiments, conſiſting each of ſix companies, and every company of fifty men. The regiments of cavalry conſiſt of the ſame number of troops, that is, of ſix; but every troop contains but forty men. Theſe regiments are regularly officered, and the whole eſtabliſhment is

ſaid to conſiſt of about ſixty thouſand men, under the command of ſeveral general officers; but whenever any body of theſe forces takes the field, one of the holy fathers always commands in chief; for it is a maxim which they never depart from, not to permit their Indians, either in peace or war, to acknowledge any authority but their own. This Indian army is ſurprizingly well diſciplined, and know not only how to handle their muſket and bayonet, like European troops; but alſo how to uſe their ſlings, out of which they throw ſtones or bullets of between four and five pound weight with prodigious force and wonderful dexterity. Theſe forces, the fathers pretend, are kept up to ſecure their ſubjects againſt the Portugueze, who were formerly wont to make inroads upon them: but there is another uſe the fathers make of their troops, which ſeems to be at leaſt as much their concern, and that is, ſcowering the country, to prevent either Spaniards or ſtrangers from coming privately into the quarters of the miſſion.

If, in ſpite of all theſe precautions, a ſtranger inſinuates himſelf into their territories, the father, into whoſe pariſh he happens to come, ſends for him immediately, takes him into his own houſe, aſſigns him a handſome apartment, uſes him with all imaginable reſpect, but affords him no ſort of liberty. If, at his requeſt, the father permits him to ſee the town, it is altogether in his company; and the Indians, having previous notice, ſhut up their gates and their windows, and keep as cloſe as if they were afraid the ſight of a ſtranger would give them the plague. As ſoon as an occaſion offers for his embarking at Buenos Ayres, he is ſent thither under the guard of a detachment of Indians, not one of whom can ſpeak a ſyllable of any European language. Thus it is ſimply impoſſible he ſhould carry over with him any more than a ſuperficial account of the ſtate of the miſſion, ſuch as this is; nor is every traveller able to carry over ſo much, ſince his lights muſt depend upon the humour of the father, in whoſe territory,

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or rather under whoſe cuſtody he lives; ſome being much more auſtere than others. The Jeſuit, with whom I ſojourned, was a native of Toledo, a man ſeemingly of a frank diſpoſition in all things of which he accounted it lawful to ſpeak freely; yet, in all matters relating to the miſſion, he was ſilent as the grave; and, except himſelf, I ſaw no perſon during my ſtay in the country, with whom I could exchange ſo much as a ſingle word. The Indians, though of themſelves gentle and courteous, yet, in conſequence of the father's inſtructions, are ſhy of ſo much as looking on an European, though they know not a ſyllable that he ſays.

It is certain that in theſe countries there are many, and thoſe very rich mines, both of gold and ſilver; that there are beſides abundance of valuable commodities, eſpecially the herb of Paraguay: ſo that if this was as much under the king of Spain's dominion as the reſt of his provinces in America, it would yield him a very fair revenue. As it is, he draws very little, if any thing, from it; nor are things like to be in a better condition. The fathers ought, indeed, to pay him a piece of eight for every head under their juriſdiction; which capitation-tax, though ſmall in itſelf, would, however, produce a very large ſum. But they have found two ways to elude this; firſt, by making a very conſiderable preſent to the governor of Buenos Ayres, they hinder him from viſiting the miſſion as he ought to do, once in five years, which affords them an opportunity of fixing the tax at a third of what it ought to be; and even this they take care not to pay; for, being obliged ſometimes to furniſh detachments for the king's ſervice, during which time they receive pay, they prevail on the governors to certify theſe detachments to be thrice as numerous as they are, and ſo balance the account. Alas! what can be expected in a country where the king can neither rely on the honour of his officers, nor on the faith of his prieſts!

Mr. WAFER's DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ISTHMUS of DARIEN.

MY first going abroad was in the Great Anne of London, captain Zachary Browne commander, bound for Bantam in the isle of Java, in the East Indies, in the year 1677. I was in the service of the surgeon of the ship; but being then very young, I made no great observations, in that voyage.

I arrived in England in the year 1679, and after about a month's stay, I entered myself on a second voyage, in a vessel commanded by captain Buckenham, bound for the West Indies. I was there also in the service of the surgeon of the ship: but when we came to Jamaica, the season of sugar being not yet come, the captain was willing to make a short voyage in the mean while to the bay of Campeachy, to fetch logwood; but having no mind to go farther with him, I staid in Jamaica. It proved well for me that I did so; for in that expedition the captain was taken by the Spaniards, and carried prisoner to Mexico.

I had a brother in Jamaica, who was employed under Sir Thomas Muddiford, in his plantation at the Angels: and my chief inducement in undertaking this voyage was to see him. I staid some time with him, and he settled me in a house at Port Royal, where I followed my business of surgery for some months. But in a while I met with captain Cook, and captain Linch, two privateers who were going

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out from Port Royal, toward the coaſt of Carthagena, and who took me along with them. We met other privateers on that coaſt; but being parted from them by ſtreſs of weather about Golden-Iſland, in the Samballoes, we ſtood away to the Baſtimentos, where we met them again, and ſeveral others, who had been at the taking of Portobello, and were rendezvouſed there. Here I firſt met with Mr. Dampier, and was with him in the expedition in the South Seas.

Mr. Dampier has told, in what manner the company divided with reference to captain Sharp. I was of Mr. Dampier's ſide in that matter, and of the number of thoſe who choſe rather to return in boats to the iſthmus, and go back again a toilſome journey over land, than ſtay under a captain in whom we experienced neither courage nor conduct.

On the 5th day of our journey the following accident befel me; being alſo the 5th of May, in the year 1681. I was ſitting on the ground near one of our men, who was drying of gun-powder, in a ſilver plate; but not managing it as he ſhould, it blew up and ſcorched my knee to that degree, that the bone was left bare, the fleſh being torn away, and my thigh burnt for a great way above it. I applied to it immediately ſuch remedies as I had in my knapſack; and being unwilling to be left behind my companions, I made hard ſhift to jog on, and bear them company for a few days; during which our ſlaves ran away from us, and among them a negroe whom the company had allowed me for my particular attendant, to carry my medicines. He took them away with him, together with the reſt of my things, and thereby left me deprived of wherewithal to dreſs my ſore; inſomuch that my pain increaſing upon me, and being not able to travel farther through rivers and woods, I took leave of my company, and ſet up my reſt among the Darien Indians.

This was on the 10th day, and there ſtaid with me Mr. Richard Gopſon, who was an ingenious man, and a good

a good ſcholar: he had with him a Greek Teſtament which he frequently read, and would tranſlate extempore into Engliſh to ſuch of the company as were diſpoſed to hear him. Another who ſtaid behind with me was John Hingſon, mariner: they were ſo fatigued with the journey, that they alſo could go no farther. There had been an order made among us at our firſt landing to kill any who ſhould flag in their journey: but this was made only to terrify any from loitering, and being taken by the Spaniards; who, by tortures, might extort from them a diſcovery of our march. But this rigorous order was not executed; for the company took a very kind leave, both of theſe, and of me. Before this we had loſt the company of two more of our men, Robert Spratlin and William Bowman, who parted with us at the river Congo, the day after my being ſcorched with gun-powder. The paſſage of that river was very deep, and the ſtream violent; by which means I was borne down the current, for ſeveral paces, to an eddy in the bending of the river. Yet I got over; but theſe two being the hindmoſt, and ſeeing with what difficulty I croſſed the river, which was ſtill riſing, were diſcouraged from attempting it, and choſe rather to ſtay where they were. Theſe two came to me; and the other two ſoon after the company's departure for the North Sea, as I ſhall have occaſion to mention: ſo that there were five of us in all who were left behind among the Indians.

Being now forced to ſtay among them, and having no means to alleviate the anguiſh of my wound, the Indians undertook to cure me; and applied to my knee ſome herbs, which they firſt chewed in their mouths to the conſiſtency of a paſte, and putting it on a plantain-leaf, laid it upon the ſore. This proved ſo effectual, that in about twenty days uſe of this poultice, which they applied freſh every day, I was perfectly cured; excepting only a weakneſs in that knee, which remained long after, and a benummedneſs which I ſometimes find in it to this day. Yet they were

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not altogether ſo kind in other reſpects; for ſome of them looked on us very contemptuouſly, throwing green plantains to us, as you would bones to a dog. This was but ſorry food; yet we were forced to be contented with it: but to mend our commons, the young Indian, at whoſe houſe we were left, would often give us ſome ripe plantains, unknown to his neighbours, which were a great refreſhment to us. This Indian, in his childhood, had been taken priſoner by the Spaniards; and having lived ſome time among them, he had learned a pretty deal of their language, under the biſhop of Panama, whom he ſerved there; till finding means to eſcape, he got again among his own countrymen. This was of good uſe to us; for we having a ſmattering of Spaniſh, and a little of the Indian's tongue alſo, by paſſing their country before, between both theſe, and the additional uſe of ſigns, we found it no very difficult matter to underſtand one another. He was truly generous and hoſpitable, and ſo careful of us, that if in the day-time we had no other proviſion that a few ſorry green plantains, he would riſe in the night, and go out by ſtealth to the neighbouring plantain-walk, and fetch a bundle of ripe ones from thence, which he would diſtribute among us unknown to his countrymen. Not that they were naturally inclined to uſe us thus roughly, for they are generally a kind and free-hearted people; but they had taken ſome particular offence, upon the account of our friends who left us, who had in a manner awed the Indian guides they took with them for the remainder of their journey, and made them go with them very much againſt their wills: the ſeverity of the rainy ſeaſon being then ſo great, that even the Indians themſelves had no mind for travelling, though they are little curious either as to the weather or ways.

When Gopſon, Hingſon, and I had lived three or four days in this manner, the other two, Spratlin and Bowman, whom we left behind at the river Congo, on the ſixth day of our journey, found their way

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to us; being exceedingly fatigued with rambling ſo long among the wild woods and rivers without guides, and having no other ſuſtenance but a few plantains they found here and there. Theſe, after their coming up to us, continued with us for about a fortnight longer, at the ſame plantation where the main body of our company had left us; and our proviſion was ſtill at the ſame rate, and the countenances of the Indians as ſtern toward us as ever, having yet no news of their friends whom our men had taken as their guides. Yet notwithſtanding their diſguſt, they took care of my wound; which by this time was pretty well healed, and I was enabled to walk about. But at length not finding their men return again as they expected, they were out of patience, and ſeemed reſolved to revenge on us the injuries which they ſuppoſed our friends had done to theirs.

The time was now almoſt expired, and having no news of the guides, the Indians began to ſuſpect that our men had either murdered them, or carried them away with them; and ſeemed reſolved therefore to deſtroy us. To this end they prepared a great pile of wood to burn us, on the 10th day; and told us what we muſt truſt to when the ſun went down: for they would not execute us till then.

But it ſo happened that Lacenta, their chief, paſſing that way, diſſuaded them from that cruelty, and propoſed to them to ſend us down towards the north-ſide, and two Indians with us, who might inform themſelves from the Indians near the coaſt, what was become of the guides. They readily hearkened to this propoſal, and immediately choſe two men to conduct us to the north-ſide. One of theſe had been all along an inveterate enemy to us; but the other was the kind Indian, who was ſo much our friend as to riſe in the night and get us ripe plantains.

The next day therefore we were diſmiſſed with our two guides, and marched joyfully for three days. The third night we lodged on a ſmall hill, which by

the next morning was become an iſland; for thoſe great rains had made ſuch a flood, that all the low land about it was covered deep with water. All this while we had no proviſion, except a handful of dry maize our Indian guides gave us the firſt two days: but this being ſpent, they returned home again, and left us to ſhift for ourſelves.

At this hill we remained the 4th day; and on the 5th, the waters being abated, we ſet forward, ſteering north by a pocket compaſs, and marched till ſix a clock at night: at which time we arrived at a river about forty feet wide, and very deep. Here we found a tree fallen croſs the river, and ſo we believed our men had paſt that way; therefore here we ſat down, and conſulted what courſe we ſhould take.

We went over the river by the help of the tree; but the rain had made it ſo ſlippery, that 'twas with great difficulty that we could get over it aſtride, for there was no walking on it: and though four of us got pretty well over, yet Bowman, who was the laſt, ſlipt off, and the ſtream hurried him out of ſight in a moment. To add to our affliction for the loſs of our conſort, we ſought about for a path, but found none; for the late flood had filled all the land with mud and ooze; and therefore ſince we could not find a path, we returned again, and repaſſed the river on the ſame tree by which we croſſed it at firſt; intending to paſs down the ſide of this river, which we ſtill thought diſcharged itſelf into the North Sea. But when we were over, and had gone down the ſtream a quarter of a mile, we eſpied our companion ſitting on the bank of the river; who, when we came to him, told us that the violence of the ſtream hurried him thither, and there, being in an eddy, he had time to conſider where he was; and that by the help of ſome boughs that hung in the water, he got out. This man had at this time 400 pieces of eight at his back: he was a weakly man, and a taylor by trade.

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Here we lay all night; and the next day, being the 5th of our preſent journey, we marched further down by the ſide of the river, through thickets of hollow bamboes and brambles, being alſo very weak for want of food: but Providence ſuffered us not to periſh; for we found a maccaw-tree, which afforded us berries, of which we eat greedily; and having therewith ſomewhat ſatisfied our hunger, we carried a bundle of them away with us, and continued our march till night.

The next day, being the 6th, we marched till four in the afternoon, when we arrived at another river, which joined with that we had hitherto coaſted; and we were now encloſed between them, on a little hill at the conflux of them. This laſt river was as wide and deep as the former; ſo that here we were put to a non-plus, not being able to find means to ford either of them, and they being here too wide for a tree to go acroſs. This laſt river alſo we ſet by the compaſs, and found it run due north: which confirmed us in our miſtake, that we were on the north-ſide of the main ridge of mountains; and therefore we reſolved upon making two bark-logs, to float us down the river, which we unanimouſly conſidered would bring us to the North Sea coaſt. The woods afforded us hollow bamboes fit for our purpoſe; and we cut them into proper lengths, and tied them together with twigs of a ſhrub like a vine, a great many on the top of one another.

By that time we had finiſhed our bark-logs, it was night, and we took up our lodging on a ſmall hill, where we gathered about a cartload of wood, and made a fire, intending to ſet out with our bark-logs the next morning. But not long after ſun-ſet, it fell a raining as if heaven and earth would meet, accompanied with horrid claps of thunder, and ſuch flaſhes of lightning, of a ſulphurous ſmell, that we were almoſt ſtifled in the open air.

Thus it continued till twelve o'clock at night; when to our great terror, we could hear the rivers

roaring on both ſides us; but it was ſo dark, that we could ſee nothing but the fire we had made, except when a flaſh of lightning came. Then we could ſee all over the hill, and perceive the water approaching us; which in leſs than half an hour carried away our fire. This drove us all to ſeek ſome ſecurity.

For my own part, I very opportunely met with a large cotton tree, which through age, was become rotten, and hollow on one ſide; having a hole in it at about the heighth of four feet from the ground. I immediately got up in it as well as I could: and in the cavity I found a knob, which ſerved me for a ſtool; and there I ſat down almoſt head and heels together, not having room enough to ſtand or ſit upright. In this condition I ſat wiſhing for day; but being fatigued with travel, though very hungry and cold, I fell aſleep: but was ſoon awakened by the noiſe of great trees which were brought down by the flood; and came with ſuch force againſt the tree, that they made it ſhake.

When I awoke I found my knees in the water, though the loweſt part of my hollow trunk was, as I ſaid, four feet above the ground; and the water was running as ſwift, as if it were in the middle of the river. The night was ſtill very dark, but only when the flaſhes of lightning came: which made it ſo dreadful and terrible, that I forgot my hunger, and was wholly taken up with praying to God to ſpare my life. In leſs than half an hour the day began to dawn, the rain and lightning ceaſed, and the waters abated, inſomuch that by that time the ſun was up the water was gone off from my tree.

Then I ventured out of my cold lodging; but being ſtiff, and the ground ſlippery, I could ſcarce ſtand: yet I made a ſhift to ramble to the place where we had made our fire, but found no body there. Then I called out aloud, but was anſwered only with my own eccho; which ſtruck ſuch terror into me,

me, that I fell down as dead, being oppreſſed both with grief and hunger; this being the ſeventh day of our faſt, ſave only the maccaw-berries before related.

Being in this condition, deſpairing of comfort for want of my conſorts, I lay ſome time on the wet ground, till at laſt I heard a voice hard by me which in ſome ſort relieved me; but eſpecially when I ſaw Mr. Hingſon one of my companions, and the reſt found us preſently after; having all ſaved themſelves by climbing ſmall trees. We greeted each other with tears in our eyes, and returned thanks to God for our deliverance.

The firſt thing we did in the morning was to look after our bark-logs or rafts, which we had left tied to a tree, in order to proſecute our voyage down the river; but coming to the place where we left them, we found them ſunk and full of water, which had got into the hollow of the bamboes; but Providence ſtill directed all for the better: for if we had gone down this river, which we afterward underſtood to be a river that runs into the river Cheapo, and ſo toward the bay of Panama and the South Sea, it would have carried us into the midſt of our enemies, the Spaniards, from whom we could expect no mercy.

The neighbourhood of the mountains, and the ſteepneſs of the deſcent, is the cauſe that the rivers riſe thus ſuddenly after theſe violent rains; but for the ſame reaſon they as ſuddenly fall again.

Being thus fruſtrated of our deſign of going down the ſtream, or of croſſing either of theſe rivers, by reaſon of the ſinking of our bark-logs, we were glad to think of returning back to the Indian ſettlement, and coaſted up the river ſide in the ſame track we came home by. As our hunger was ready to carry our eyes to any object that might afford us ſome relief, it happened that we eſpied a deer faſt aſleep: but one of our men putting the muzzle of his gun cloſe to him, and the ſhot not being wadded, tumbled out,

juſt before the gun went off, and did the deer no hurt; but ſtarting up at the noiſe, he took the river and ſwam over. As long as our way lay by the river-ſide, we made a ſhift to keep it well enough; but being now to take leave of the river, in order to ſeek for the Indian habitations, we were much at a loſs.

After a little conſideration what courſe to ſteer next, we concluded it beſt to follow the track of a pecary or wild-hog, hoping it might bring us to ſome old plantain-walk or potato-piece, which theſe creatures often reſort to, to look for food: this brought us, according to our expectation, to an old plantation, and in ſight of a new one. But here again fear overwhelmed us, being between two ſtraits, either to ſtarve, or venture up to the Indian houſes; whom being ſo near, we were now afraid of again, not knowing how they would receive us. In concluſion I went to the plantation, and it proved the ſame that we came from. The Indians were all amazed to ſee me, and began to aſk many queſtions: but I prevented them by falling into a ſwoon, occaſioned by the heat of the houſe, and the ſcent of the meat that was boiling over the fire. The Indians were very officious to help me in this extremity, and when I revived they gave me a little to eat. Then they enquired of me for the other four men; for whom they preſently ſent, and treated us all very kindly: for our long-expected guides were now returned from the north-ſide, and gave large commendations of the kindneſs and generoſity of our men; by which means all the Indians were become now again our very good friends.

Here we ſtayed ſeven days to refreſh ourſelves, and then took our march again: for we were deſirous to get to the north-ſeas as ſoon as we could, and they were now more willing to guide us than ever before; ſince the guides our party took with them, had not only been diſmiſſed civilly, but with preſents alſo of axes, beads, &c. The Indians therefore of the village where we now were, ordered four luſty young men

men to conduct us; and in ſix days time after this, they brought us to Lacenta's houſe, who had before ſaved our lives.

This houſe is ſituated on a fine little hill, on which grows the ſtateſieſt grove of cotton trees that ever I ſaw. The bodies of theſe trees were generally ſix feet in diameter, nay four Indians and myſelf took hand in hand round a tree, and could not fathom it by three feet. Here was likewiſe a ſtately plantain-walk, and a grove of other ſmall trees, that would make a pleaſant artificial wilderneſs, if induſtry and art were beſtowed on it.

This pleaſant little hill, containing at leaſt 100 acres of land, is a peninſula of an oval form, almoſt ſurrounded with two great rivers, one coming from the eaſt, and the other from the weſt; which approaching within forty feet of each other, at the front of the peninſula, ſeparate again, embracing the hill, and meet on the other ſide, making there one pretty large river which runs very ſwift. There is therefore but one way to come in toward this ſeat; which, as before obſerved, is not above forty feet wide between the rivers on each ſide; and fenced with hollow bamboes, popes-heads and prickle-pears, ſo thick ſet from one ſide the neck of land to the other, that it is impoſſible for an enemy to approach it.

On this hill live fifty principal men of the country, all under Lacenta's command, who is a prince over all the ſouth-part of the iſthmus of Darien; the Indians both there and on the north-ſide alſo, paying him great reſpect: but the ſouth-ſide is his country, and this hill his ſeat or palace. There is only one canoe belonging to it, which ſerves to ferry over Lacenta and his ſubjects.

When we were arrived at this place, Lacenta diſcharged our guides, and ſent them back again, telling us, that it was not poſſible for us to travel to the north-ſide at this ſeaſon; for the rainy ſeaſon was now in its height, and travelling very bad; but told us

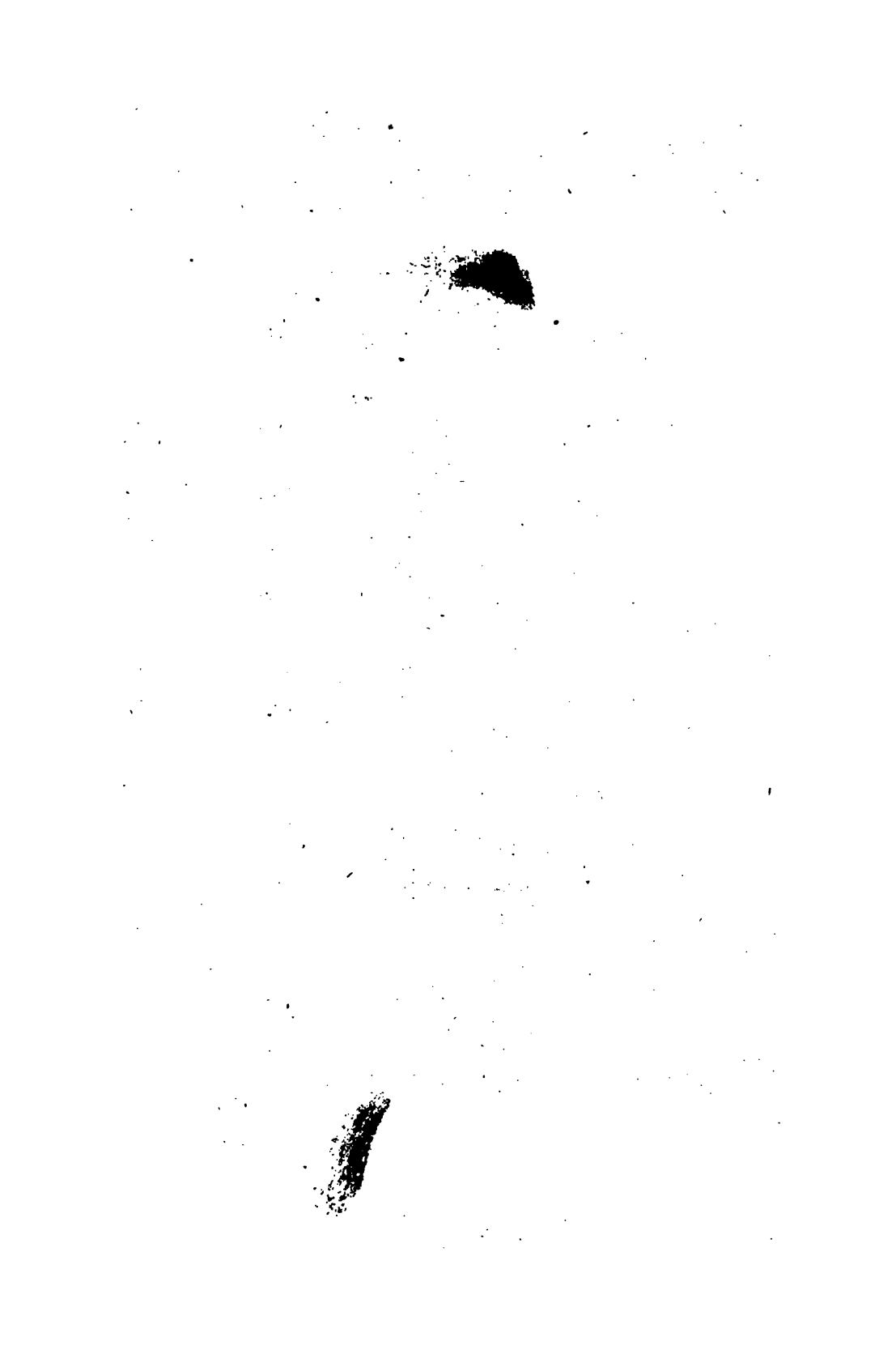
we ſhould ſtay with him, and he would take care of us: and we were forced to comply with him.

We had not been long here before an occurrence happened, which tended much to the increaſing the good opinion Lacenta and his people had conceived of us, and brought me into particular eſteem with them.

It ſo happened, that one of Lacenta's wives being indiſpoſed, was to be let blood; which the Indians perform in this manner: the patient is ſeated on a ſtone in the river, and one with a ſmall bow ſhoots little arrows into the naked body of the patient, up and down; ſhooting them as faſt as he can, and not miſſing any part. But the arrows are gaged, ſo that they penetrate no farther than we generally thruſt our lancets: and if by chance they hit a vein, and the blood ſpurts out a little, they will leap and ſkip about, ſhewing many antic geſtures, by way of rejoicing and triumph.

I was by while this was performing on Lacenta's lady: and perceiving their ignorance, told Lacenta, that if he pleaſed, I would ſhew him a better way, without putting the patient to ſo much torment. Let me ſee, ſays he; and at his command I bound up her arm with a piece of bark, and with my lancet breathed a vein: but this raſh attempt had like to have coſt me my life. For Lacenta ſeeing the blood iſſue out in a ſtream, which uſed to come drop by drop, got hold of his lance, and ſwore by his tooth, that if ſhe did any otherwiſe than well, he would have my heart's blood. I was not moved, but deſired him to be patient, and I drew off about twelve ounces, bound up her arm, and deſired ſhe might reſt till the next day: by which means the fever abated, and ſhe had not another fit. This gained me ſo much reputation, that Lacenta came to me, and before all his attendants, bowed and kiſſed my hand. Then the reſt came thick about me, and ſome kiſſed my hand, others my knee, and ſome my foot: after which

The Indians Manner of Bleeding.



which I was taken up in a hammoc, and carried on men's ſhoulders, Lacenta himſelf making a ſpeech in my praiſe, and commending me as much ſuperior to any of their doctors. Thus I was carried about from plantation to plantation, and lived in great ſplendor and repute, adminiſtring both phyſic and phlebotomy to thoſe that wanted. For though I loſt my ſalves and plaiſters, when the negroe ran away with my knapſack, yet I preſerved a box of inſtruments, and a few medicines wrapt up in an oil-cloth, by having them in my pocket, where I generally carried them.

During my abode with Lacenta, I often accompanied him a hunting, wherein he took great delight, here being good game. I was one time about the beginning of the dry ſeaſon, accompanying him toward the ſouth-eaſt part of the country, and we paſſed by a river where the Spaniards were gathering gold. I took this river to be one of thoſe which comes from the gulph of St. Michael. When we came near the place where they wrought, we ſtole ſoftly through the woods, and placing ourſelves behind the great trees, looked on them a good while, they not ſeeing us. The manner of their getting gold is as follows. They have little wooden diſhes which they dip ſoftly into the water, and take it up half full of ſand, which they draw gently out of the water; and every dipping they take up gold mixed with the ſand water, more or leſs. This they ſhake, and the ſand riſeth, and goes over the brims of the diſh with the water; but the gold ſettles to the bottom. This done, they bring it out and dry it in the ſun, and then pound it in a mortar. Then they take it out and ſpread it on paper, and having a load-ſtone they move that over it, which draws all the iron, &c. from it, and then leaves the gold clean from ore or filth; and this they bottle up in gourds or calabaſhes. In this manner they work during the dry ſeaſon, which is three months; for in the wet time the gold is waſh-

ed from the mountains by violent rains, and then commonly the rivers are very deep: but now in the gathering ſeaſon, when they are fallen again, they are not above a foot deep. Having ſpent the dry ſeaſon in gathering, they embark in ſmall veſſels for Santa Maria town.

During theſe progreſſes I made with Lacenta, my four companions ſtaid behind at his ſeat; but I had by this time ſo far ingratiated myſelf with Lacenta, that he would never go any where without me, and I plainly perceived he intended to keep me in this country all the days of my life; which raiſed ſome anxious thoughts in me.

Purſuing our ſport one day, it happened we ſtarted a pecary, or wild hog, which held the Indians and their dogs in play the greateſt part of the day; till Lacenta was almoſt ſpent for want of victuals, and ſo troubled at his ill ſucceſs, that he impatiently wiſhed for ſome better way of managing this ſort of game.

I now underſtood their language pretty well, and finding what troubled him, I took this opportunity to attempt the getting my liberty to depart, by commending to him our Engliſh dogs, and making an offer of bringing a few of them from England, if he would ſuffer me to go thither for a ſhort time. He demurred at this motion a while; but at length he ſwore by his tooth, laying his fingers on it, that I ſhould have my liberty, and for my ſake the other four with me, provided I would promiſe and ſwear by my tooth, that I would return and marry among them: for he had made me a promiſe of his daughter in marriage, but ſhe was not then marriageable. I accepted of the conditions; and he further promiſed, that at my return he would do for me beyond my expectation.

I returned him thanks, and was the next day diſmiſſed under the convoy of ſeven luſty fellows; and we had four women to carry our proviſions, and my cloaths, which were only a linen frock and a pair of breeches. Theſe I ſaved to cover my nakedneſs, if

ever

ever I ſhould come among Chriſtians again: for at this time I went naked as the ſavages, and was painted by their women; but I would not ſuffer them to prick my ſkin, to rub the paint in, as they uſe to do, but only to lay it on in little ſpecks.

Thus we departed from the neighbourhood of the South Seas, where Lacenta was hunting, to his ſeat or palace, where I arrived in about fifteen days, to the great joy of my conſorts; who had ſtaid there during this expedition I had made to the ſouth-eaſt.

After many ſalutations on both ſides, and ſome joyful tears, I told them how I got my liberty of Lacenta, and what I promiſed at my return; and they were very glad at the hopes of getting away, after ſo long a ſtay in a ſavage country.

I ſtaid here ſome few days till I was refreſhed, and then with my companions marched away for the North Seas, having a ſtrong convoy of armed Indians for our guides.

We travelled over many very high mountains; at laſt we came to one ſurpaſſing the reſt in heighth, to which we were four days gradually aſcending, though now and then with ſome deſcent between while. Being on the top, I perceived a ſtrange giddineſs in my head; and enquiring both of my companions and the Indians, they all aſſured me they were in the like condition: which I can only impute to the height of the mountains, and the clearneſs of the air.

I deſired two men to lie on my legs, while I laid my head over that ſide of the mountain which was moſt perpendicular; but could ſee no ground for the clouds that were between. The Indians carried us over a ridge ſo narrow that we were forced to ſtraddle over on our breeches; and the Indians took the ſame care of themſelves, handing their bows, arrows, and luggage, from one to another. As we deſcended, we were all cured of our giddineſs.

When we came to the foot of the mountain we found a river that run into the North Seas; and near

the ſide of it were a few Indian houſes, which afforded us indifferent good entertainment. Here we lay one night, it being the firſt houſe I had ſeen for ſix days; my lodging by the way being in a hammock made faſt to two trees, and my covering a plantain-leaf.

The next morning we ſet forward, and in two days time arrived at the ſea-ſide; and were met by forty of the beſt ſort of Indians in the country, who congratulated our coming and welcomed us to their houſes. They were all in their fineſt robes, which are long white gowns, reaching to their ancles, with fringes at the bottom, and in their hands they had half pikes.

We preſently enquired of theſe Indians when they expected any ſhips? They told us they knew not, but would enquire; and therefore they ſent for one of their conjurers, who immediately went to work to raiſe the devil, to enquire of him at what time a ſhip would arrive here. We were in the houſe with them; and they firſt began to work with making a partition with hammocks, that the Pawawers, for ſo they called theſe conjurers, might be by themſelves. They continued ſome time at their exerciſe, and we could hear them make moſt hideous yellings and ſhrieks, imitating the voices of all their kind of birds and beaſts. With their own noiſe, they joined that of ſeveral ſtones ſtruck together, and of conch-ſhells, and of a ſorry ſort of drums made of hollow bamboes, which they beat upon; making a jarring noiſe alſo with ſtrings faſtened to the larger bones of beaſts. And every now and then they would make a dreadful exclamation, and clattering all of a ſudden, would as ſuddenly make a pauſe and a profound ſilence. But finding that after a conſiderable time no anſwer was made them, they concluded that it was becauſe we were in the houſe; ſo turning us out, they went to work again. But ſtill finding no return, after an hour or more, they made a new ſearch in our apartment;

ment; and finding ſome of our cloaths hanging up in a baſket againſt the wall, they threw them out of doors in great diſdain. Then they fell once more to their pawawing; and after a little time they came out with their anſwer, but all in a muck-ſweat; ſo that they firſt went down to the river and waſhed themſelves, and then came and delivered the oracle to us, which was to this effect: that the 10th day from that time there would arrive two ſhips; and that in the morning of the 10th day we ſhould hear firſt one gun, and ſome time after that another; that one of us ſhould die ſoon after; and that going on board we ſhould loſe one of our guns; all which fell out according to the prediction.

For on the 10th day in the morning we heard the guns, firſt one, and then another, in that manner that was told us; and one of our guns or fuſees was loſt in going aboard the ſhips: for we five, and three of the Indians went off to the ſhips in a canoe; but as we croſſed the bar of the river it overſet, where Mr. Gopſon, one of my conſorts, was like to be drowned; and though we recovered him out of the water, yet he loſt his gun according to the prediction. I know not how this happened as to his gun; but ours were all laſhed down to the ſide of the canoe: and in the Weſt Indies we never go into a canoe but a little matter overſets it; but we make faſt our guns to the ſides or ſeats: and I ſuppoſe Mr. Gopſon, who was a very careful and ſenſible man, had laſhed down his alſo, though not faſt enough.

Being over-ſet, and our canoe turned upſide down, we got to ſhore as well as we could, and dragged Mr. Gopſon with us, though with difficulty. Then we put off again, and kept more along the ſhore; and at length ſtood over to La Sound's Key, where the two ſhips lay, an Engliſh ſloop and a Spaniſh tartan, which the Engliſh had taken but two or three days before. We knew by the make of this laſt that it

was a Spaniſh veſſel, before we came up with it; but ſeeing it in company with an Engliſh one, we thought they muſt be conſorts: and whether the Spaniſh veſſel ſhould prove to be under the Engliſh one, or the Engliſh under that, we were reſolved to put it to the venture, and get aboard, being quite tired with our ſtay among the wild Indians. The Indians were more afraid of its being a veſſel of Spaniards, their enemies as well as ours.

We went aboard the Engliſh ſloop, and our Indian friends with us, and were received with a very hearty welcome. The four Engliſhmen with me were preſently known and careſſed by the ſhip's crew; but I ſat a while cringing upon my hams among the Indians, after their faſhion, painted as they were, and all naked but only about the waiſt, and with my noſe-piece hanging over my mouth. I was willing to try if they knew me in this diſguiſe; and it was the better part of an hour before one of the crew, looking more narrowly upon me, cried out, "Here's our doctor;" and immediately they all congratulated my arrival among them. I did what I could preſently to waſh off my paint; but it was near a month before I could get tolerably rid of it, having had my ſkin ſo long ſtained with it, and the pigment dried on in the ſun: and when it did come off, it was uſually with the peeling off of ſkin and all. As for Mr. Gopſon, we brought him alive to the ſhip, yet he did not recover his fatigues, and his drenching in the water; but having languiſhed aboard about three days, he died there at La Sound's Key: and his death verified the Pawawers prediction. Our Indians having been kindly entertained aboard for about ſix or ſeven days; and many others of them, who went to and fro with their wives and children, and Lacenta among them, viſiting us about a fortnight or three weeks, we at length took leave of them, except two or three of them who would needs go with us to windward; and we ſet ſail, with

with the Tartan in company, firſt to the more eaſtern iſles of the Samballoes, and then toward the coaſt of Cartagena.

I ſhall now go on with a particular deſcription of the iſthmus of America, which was the main thing I intended in publiſhing theſe relations.

This country is the narroweſt part of the iſthmus of America, which is more peculiarly called the Iſthmus of Darien; probably from the great river of that name, wherewith its northern coaſt is bounded to the eaſt: for beyond this river the land ſpreads ſo to the eaſt and north-eaſt, as that on the other coaſt does to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt, that it can no further be called an iſthmus. It is moſtly comprehended between the latitudes of 8 and 10 N. but its breadth in the narroweſt part is much about one degree. How far it reaches in length weſtward, under the name of the Iſthmus of Darien, whether as far as Honduras, or Nicaragua, or no further than the river Chagre, or the towns of Portobello and Panama, I cannot ſay.

This laſt is the boundary of what I mean to deſcribe; and I ſhall be moſt particular as to the middle part even of this, as being the ſcene of my abode and ramble in that country: though what I ſhall have occaſion to ſay as to this part of the iſthmus, will be in ſome meaſure applicable to the country even beyond Panama.

The land of this continent is almoſt every where diſtinguiſhed with hills and valleys, of great variety for height, depth, and extent. The valleys are generally watered with rivers, brooks, and perennial ſprings; with which the country very much abounds. They fall ſome into the north, and others into the ſouth; and do moſt of them take their riſe from a ridge or chain of higher hills than the reſt, running the length of the iſthmus, and in a manner parallel to the ſhore; which, for diſtinction's-ſake, I ſhall call the Main Ridge.

This

at; ſo that this was the greateſt rendezvous of the privateers on this coaſt: but chiefly La Sound's key, or Springer's key, eſpecially if they ſtaid any time here.

The long channel between the Samballoes and the iſthmus is of two, three, and four miles breadth; and the ſhore of the iſthmus is partly ſandy bays, and partly mangrove land, quite to point Samballas. The mountains are much at the ſame diſtance of ſix or ſeven miles from the ſhore; but about the river of Conception, which comes out about a mile or two to the eaſtward of La Sound's Key, the main ridge is ſomewhat farther diſtant. Many little brooks fall into the ſea on either ſide of that river, and the outlets are ſome of them in the ſandy bay, and ſome of them among the mangrove-land: the ſwamps of which are (on this coaſt) made by the ſalt water, ſo that the brooks which come out there are brackiſh; but thoſe in the ſandy bay yield very ſweet water.

Point Samballas is a rocky point, pretty long and low; and is alſo guarded with rocks for a mile off at ſea, that it is dangerous coming near it. From hence the ſhore runs weſt, and a little northerly quite to Portobello. About three leagues weſtward from this point lies Port Scrivan. The coaſt between them is all rocky, and the country within land all woody, as in other parts.

Port Scrivan is a good harbour, when you are got into it; but the entrance of it, which is ſcarce a furlong over, is ſo beſet with rocks on each ſide, but eſpecially to the eaſt, that it is very dangerous going in: nor doth there ſeem to be a depth of water ſufficient to admit veſſels of any bulk, there being in moſt places but eight or nine feet water. The inſide of the harbour goes pretty deep within the land; and as there is good riding in a ſandy bottom, eſpecially at the end of it, which is alſo fruitful land, and has good freſh water, ſo there is good landing too on the

eaſt

eaſt and ſouth, where the country is low for two or three miles, and very firm land: but the weſt-ſide is a ſwamp of red mangroves.

From Port Scrivan to the place where ſtood formerly the city of Nombre de Dios, it is further weſtward about ſeven or eight leagues. The land between is very uneven, with ſmall hills ſteep againſt the ſea. The ſituation of it ſeems to have been but very indifferent, the bay before it lying open to the ſea, and affording little ſhelter for ſhipping; which I have heard was one reaſon why the Spaniards forſook it: and another, probably, was the unhealthineſs of the country itſelf, it being ſuch low ſwampy land, and very ſickly; ſo that the Spaniards were certainly much in the right, for quitting this place to ſettle at Portobello: which though it be alſo an unhealthy place, yet has it the advantage of a very good and defenſible harbour.

About a mile or two to the weſtward of theſe iſlands, at the mouth of the bay of Nombre de Dios, and about half a mile or more from the ſhore, lie a few iſlands called the Baſtimentos; for the moſt part pretty high, and one peeked, and all cloathed with woods. The bottom affords a good anchorage; and there is a good coming in with the ſea-wind between the eaſtermoſt iſland and the next to it, and going out with the land-wind the ſame way; this being the chief paſſage. Further weſt, before you come to Portobello, lie two ſmall iſlands, flat, and without wood or water. They are pretty cloſe together; and they are environed with rocks toward the ſea: they lie ſo near the iſthmus that there is but a narrow channel between, not fit for ſhips to come into.

The ſhore of the iſthmus hereabout conſiſts moſtly of ſandy bays, after you are paſt a ridge of rocks that run out from the bay of Nombre de Dios, pointing toward the Baſtimentoes. Beyond the Baſtimentoes to Portobello, the coaſt is generally rocky. Within land the country is full of high and ſteep hills,

very good land; moſt woody, unleſs where cleared for plantations by Spaniſh Indians, tributary to Portobello, whither they go to church. And theſe are the firſt ſettlements on this coaſt under the Spaniſh government. In all the reſt of the north-ſide of the iſthmus, which I have deſcribed hitherto, the Spaniards had neither command over the Indians, nor commerce with them while I was there, though there are Indians inhabiting all along the continent; yet one has told me ſince, that the Spaniards have won them over to them.

Portobello is a very fair, large and commodious harbour, affording good anchoring and good ſhelter for ſhips, having a narrow mouth, and ſpreading wider within. The galleons from Spain find good riding here during the time of their buſineſs at Portobello; for from hence they take in ſuch of the treaſures of Peru as are brought thither over land from Panama.

The country beyond this weſtward, to the mouth of the river Chagre, I have ſeen off at ſea: but not having been aſhore there, I can give no other account of it, but only that it is partly hilly, and near the ſea very ſwampy: and I have heard by ſeveral that there is no communication between Portobello and the mouth of that river.

Having thus ſurveyed the north-coaſt of the iſthmus, I ſhall take a light view of the ſouth alſo: but I ſhall the leſs need to be particular in it, becauſe Mr. Dampier hath in ſome meaſure deſcribed this part of it in his voyage round the world.

To begin therefore from Point Garachina, which makes the weſt-ſide of the mouth of the river of Sambo, this point is pretty high faſt land; but within toward the river, it is low, drowned mangrove, and ſo are all the points of land to Cape St. Lorenzo.

The river of Sambo I have not ſeen: but it is ſaid to be a pretty large river. Its mouth opens to the north; and from thence to the coaſt bears north-eaſt

to

to the gulph of St. Michael. This gulph is made by the out-lets of ſeveral rivers; the moſt noted of which are the river of Santa Maria, and the river of Congo: though there are others of a conſiderable bigneſs.

The next to the gold river is that of Santa Maria, ſo called from the town of that name ſeated on the ſouth-ſide of it, at a good diſtance from the ſea. This is but a new town, being built by the Spaniards of Panama, partly for a garriſon and magazine of proviſion, and partly for quarters of refreſhment, and a retiring-place for their workmen in the gold river. The country all about here is woody and low, and very unhealthy; the rivers being ſo oozy, that the ſtinking mud infects the air: the little village of Scuchadero lies on the right-ſide of the river of Santa Maria, near the mouth of it.

Between Scuchadero and Cape St. Lorenzo, which makes the north-ſide of the gulph of St. Michael, the river of Congo falls into the gulph; which river is made up of many rivulets, that fall from the neighbouring hills, and join into one ſtream. The mouth of it is muddy, and bare for a great way at low-water, unleſs juſt the depth of the channel; and it affords little entertainment for ſhipping. But further in, the river is deep enough; ſo that ſhips coming in at high water might find it a very good harbour, if they had any buſineſs here. The gulph itſelf hath ſeveral iſlands in it; and up and down in and about them, there is in many places very good riding; for the moſt part in oozy ground.

North of this gulph is a ſmall creek; and the land between theſe is partly ſuch mangrove-land as the other, and partly ſandy bays. From thence the land runs further on north, but gently bending to the weſt: and this coaſt alſo is much ſuch a mixture of mangrove-land and ſandy bay quite to the river Cheapo; and in many places there are ſholes, for a mile, or half a mile off at ſea. In ſeveral parts of

this coaſt, at about five or ſix miles diſtance from the ſhore there are ſmall hills; and the whole country is covered with woods. I know but one river worth obſerving between Congo and Cheapo. Cheapo is a conſiderable river, but has no good entering into it for ſholes. Its courſe is long, riſing near the North-Sea, and pretty far from toward the eaſt. About this river the country ſomething changes its face, being ſavannah on the weſt-ſide; though the eaſt-ſide is wood-land, as the other. Cheapo town ſtands on the weſt-ſide, at ſome diſtance from the ſea; but is ſmall, and of no great conſequence. Its chief ſupport is from the paſturage of black cattle in the ſavannahs.

Between the river of Cheapo and Panama, further weſt, are three rivers, of no great conſequence, lying open to the ſea. The land between is low even land, and moſt of it dry, and covered here and there by the ſea, with ſhort buſhes. Near the moſt weſterly of theſe old Panama was ſeated, once a large city; but nothing now remains of it beſides rubbiſh, and a few houſes of poor people.

About a league to the weſt of Panama is another river, which is pretty large, and is called by ſome Rio Grande. It is ſhoal at the entrance, and runs very ſwift; and ſo is not fit for ſhipping. On the weſt-banks of it are plantations of ſugar; but the ſhore from hence beginning to trend away to the ſouthward again, I ſhall here fix my weſtern boundary to the South Sea coaſt of the iſthmus, and go no farther in the deſcription of it.

The ſhore between Point Garachina and this river, and ſo on further to Punta Mala, makes a very regular, and more than ſemicircular bay, called by the name of the bay of Panama. In this are ſeveral as fine iſlands, as are any where to be found: the Kings or Pearl Iſlands, Pacheque, Chepelio, Perica, &c. with great variety of good riding for ſhips. It is a very noble delightful bay; and as it affords good anchor-

ing and ſhelter, ſo the iſlands alſo yield plenty of wood, water, fruits, fowls, and hogs, for the accommodation of ſhipping.

The woods of this country are not the ſame on the tops or ſides of the hills in the inland country, as they are near the ſea: for in the drier and more riſing inland country, the woods are rather a large foreſt of timber-trees, or a delightful grove of trees of ſeveral kinds, very large and tall, with little or no underwood; and the trees are placed at ſuch a diſtance from each other, as that a horſe might gallop among them for a great way, and decline them with eaſe. The tops of theſe trees are generally very large and ſpreading; and, I preſume, it is the ſhade and dropping of theſe which hinder any thing elſe from growing in the rich ground among them.

The weather is much the ſame here as in other places of the Torrid Zone in this latitude, but inclining rather to the wet extreme. The ſeaſon of rains begins in April or May; and during the months of June, July and Auguſt. About September the rains begin to abate; but it is November or December, and, it may be, part of January ere they are quite gone: ſo that it is a very wet country, and has rains for two-thirds, if not three quarters of the year. Yet at certain intervals, even in the wetteſt of the ſeaſon, there will be ſeveral fair days intermixed, with only tornados or thunder-ſhowers; and that ſometimes for a week together. Theſe thunder-ſhowers cauſe uſually a ſenſible wind, by the clouds preſſing the atmoſphere, which is very refreſhing, and moderates the heat: but then this wind ſhaking the trees of this continued foreſt, their dropping is as troubleſome as the rain itſelf. When the ſhower is over, you ſhall hear a great way together the croaking of frogs and toads, the humming of moſchitoes or gnats, and the hiſſing or ſhriekings of ſnakes and other inſects, loud and unpleaſant. When the rains fall among the woods, they make a hollow or rattling ſound: but

the floods cauſed by them often bear down trees; as I obſerved in relating my paſſage over land. Theſe will often barricade and dam up the river, till it is cleared by another flood that will ſet the trees all afloat again. Sometimes alſo the floods run over a broad plain; and for the time make it all like one great lake. The cooleſt time here is about our Chriſtmas, when the fair weather is coming on.

The Indian inhabitants of the iſthmus are not very numerous, but they live thickeſt on the north-ſide, eſpecially along the ſides of the rivers. The wild Indians of the ſouth-ſide live moſt toward Peru: but there are Indians ſcattered up and down all parts of the iſthmus.

Both men and women pride themſelves much in the length of the hair of the head; and they frequently part it with their fingers, to keep it diſentangled; or comb it out with a ſort of combs they make of macaw-wood. This comb is made of ſeveral ſmall ſticks, of about five or ſix inches long, and tapering to a point at each end like our glovers ſticks. Theſe being tied ten or twelve of them together about the middle where they are thick, the extremities of them both ways open from each other, and ſerve at either end for a comb; which does well enough to part the hair, but they are forced to uſe their fingers to fetch the lice out of their heads. They take great delight in combing their hair, and will do it for an hour together. All other hair, except that of their eye-brows and eye-lids, they eradicate: for though the men have beards, if they would let them grow, yet they always have them rooted out; and the women are the operators for all this work, uſing two little ſticks for that purpoſe, between which they pinch the hair, and pluck it up. But the men upon ſome occaſions cut off the hair even of their heads; it being a cuſtom they have to do ſo by way of triumph, and as a diſtinguiſhing mark of honour to him who has killed a Spaniard, or other enemy.

my. He alſo then paints himſelf black (which is not uſual upon any other occaſion) continuing painted of this colour till the firſt new moon (as I remember) after the fact is done.

Their natural complexion is a copper-colour, or orange-tawney; and their eye-brows are naturally black as jet. They uſe no art to deepen the colour either of their eye-brows or the hair of their head; but they daub it with oil to make it ſhine: for, like other Indians, they anoint themſelves all over.

There is one complexion ſo ſingular among a ſort of people of this country, that I never ſaw nor heard of any like them in any part of the world. The account will ſeem ſtrange; but any privateers who have gone over the iſthmus muſt have ſeen them, and can atteſt the main of what I am going to relate, though few have had the opportunity of ſo particular an information about theſe people as I have had. They are white, and there are of them of both ſexes; yet there are but few of them in compariſon of the copper-coloured, poſſibly but one to two or three hundred. They differ from the other Indians chiefly in reſpect of colour, though not in that only. Their ſkins are not of ſuch a white as fair people among Europeans, with ſome tincture of a bluſh or ſanguine complexion; neither yet is their complexion like that of our paler people, but 'tis rather a milk white, lighter than the colour of any Europeans, and much like that of a white horſe.

There is this further remarkable in them, that their bodies are beſet all over, more or leſs, with a fine ſhort milk-white down, which adds to the whiteneſs of their ſkins. Their eye-brows are milk-white alſo, and ſo is the hair of their heads, and very fine withal, about the length of ſix or eight inches, and inclining to a curl.

They are not ſo big as the other Indians; and what is yet more ſtrange, their eye-lids bend and open in an oblong figure, pointing downward at the corners, and forming an arch or figure of a creſcent with the

points downward. From hence, and from their ſeeing ſo clear as they do in a moon-ſhiny night, we uſed to call them Moon-eyed. For they ſee not very well in the ſun, poring in the cleareſt day; their eyes being but weak, and running with water if the ſun ſhine toward them: ſo that in the day-time they care not to go abroad, unleſs it be a cloudy dark day. Beſide, they are but a weak people in compariſon of the other; and not fit for hunting or other laborious exerciſe, nor do they delight in any ſuch. But notwithſtanding their being thus ſluggiſh, and dull, in the day-time, yet when moon-ſhiny nights come, they are all life and activity, running abroad into the woods, ſkipping about like wild-bucks; and running as faſt by moon-light, even in the gloom and ſhade of the woods, as the other Indians by day; being as nimble as they, though not ſo ſtrong and luſty.

The copper-coloured Indians ſeem not to reſpect theſe ſo much as thoſe of their own complexion, looking on them as ſomewhat monſtrous. They are not a diſtinct race by themſelves, but now and then one is bred of a copper-coloured father and mother; and I have ſeen a child of leſs than a year old of this ſort. Some would be apt to ſuſpect they might be the offspring of ſome European father: but beſide that the Europeans come little here, and have little commerce with the Indian women when they do come, theſe white people are as different from the Europeans in ſome reſpects, as from the copper-coloured Indians in others. And beſide, where an European lies with an Indian woman, the child is always a Moſteſe, or Tawney, as is well known to all who have been in the Weſt Indies. But neither is the child of a man and woman of theſe white Indians, white like the parents, but copper-coloured as their grand parents were. For ſo Lacenta told me; and gave me this as his conjecture how theſe came to be white, that it was through the force of the mother's imagination, looking on the moon at the time of the conception: but this

this I leave others to judge. He told me withal, that they were but ſhort-lived.

Both theſe and the copper-coloured Indians uſe painting their bodies, even of the ſucking children ſometimes. They make figures of birds, beaſts, men, trees, or the like, up and down in every part of the body, more eſpecially the face: but the figures are not extraordinary like what they repreſent, and are of differing dimenſions, as their fancies lead them.

But finer figures, eſpecially by their greater artiſts, are imprinted deeper, after this manner. They firſt with the bruſh and colour make a rough draught of the figure they deſign; then they prick all over with a ſharp thorn till the blood guſhes out; then they rub the place with their hands, firſt dipped in their colour they deſign; and the picture ſo made is indelible: but ſcarce one in forty of them is painted this way.

They wear no cloaths ordinarily; but only the women have a clout or piece of cloth about their middle, tied behind with a thread and hanging down to their knees or ancles, if they can get one large enough. They make theſe of cotton; but ſometimes they meet with ſome old cloaths got by trucking with their neighbouring Indians ſubject to the Spaniards; and of theſe they are very proud.

Yet the men alſo have a value for cloaths, and if any of them had an old ſhirt given him by any of us, he would be ſure to wear it, and ſtrut about at no ordinary rate. Beſide this they have a ſort of long cotton garments of their own, ſome white, others of a ruſty black, ſhaped like our carters frocks, hanging down to their heels, with a fringe of the ſame of cotton about a ſpan long, and ſhort, wide, open ſleeves, reaching but to the middle of their arms. Theſe garments they put on over their heads; but they are worn only on ſome great occaſions, as attending the king or chief, either at a feaſt, a wedding eſpecially; or ſitting in council, or the like. They don't march in them: but the women carry theſe and their

other

other ornaments in baſkets after them; which they put on when they come to the place of aſſembly, and there make themſelves as fine as they can. When they are thus aſſembled, they will ſometimes walk about the place or plantation where they are, with theſe their robes on: and I once ſaw Lacenta thus walking about with two or three hundred of theſe attending him, as if he was muſtering them; and I took notice that thoſe in the black gowns walked before him, and the white after him, each having their lances of the ſame colour with their robes.

For an ornament to the face, beſide their general painting and daubing their cheeks with red when they go to war, the men wear at all times a piece of plate hanging over their mouths, generally of ſilver, but the principal men have it of gold. It is of an oval figure, covering the mouth from corner to corner; and this is the length of it: it reaches ſo low as to lie upon the under-lip with its loweſt ſide; and there is a piece cut out of the upper-ſide, near the extremity of it; which edge being cut aſunder, the whole plate is like the figure of a half-moon, only inclining more to an oval; and gently pinching the bridle of the noſe with its points, it hangs dangling from thence. It is in the middle of about the thickneſs of a guinea; but grows thinner gradually toward the edge. The plates of this ſize are ſuch as they uſe when they go to a feaſt or council: but that which they wear abroad upon a long march, hunting, or at ordinary times, is of the ſame ſhape, but much ſmaller, and does not cover their lips. Such an one I wore among them of gold.

Inſtead of this plate, the women wear a ring hanging down in the ſame manner; and the metal and ſize alſo differing according to their rank, and the occaſion. The larger ſort is of the thickneſs of a gooſe-quill; and not oval as the men's plate, but circular. It goes through the bridle of the noſe; which many times, by its weight and long uſe, eſpecially in elder women, it brings down to the mouth.

Both

Both men and women, at ſolemn meals or feaſts, when they wear their larger plates or rings, take them out and lay them aſide till they have done eating; when rubbing them very clean and bright, they put them in again.

The king or chief, and ſome few of the great ones, at extraordinary times, wear in each ear, faſtened to a ring there, two large gold plates, one hanging before to the breaſt, and the other behind on the ſhoulder. They are about a ſpan long, of an heart-faſhion (as that is commonly painted) with the point downward; having on the upper part a narrow plate or label, about three or four inches long, by a hole which it hangs to the ring in the ear. It wears great holes in the ears by frequent uſe.

I once ſaw Lacenta in a great council, wear a diadem of gold-plate, like a band about his head, eight or nine inches broad, jagged at the top like the teeth of a ſaw, and lined on the inſide with a net-work of ſmall canes. And all the armed men, who then attended him in council, wore on their heads ſuch a band; but like a baſket of canes, and ſo jagged, wrought fine, and painted very handſomely, for the moſt part red, but not covered over with a gold-plate as Lacenta's was. The top of theſe was ſet round with long feathers, of ſeveral of the moſt beautiful birds, ſtuck upright in a ring or crown: but Lacenta had no feathers on his diadem.

Beſide theſe particular ornaments, there are yet other general ones which they all wear, men, women, and children of ſeven or eight years old, in proportion to their age. Theſe are ſeveral ſtrings or chains of teeth, ſhells, beads, or the like, hanging from the neck down upon the breaſt, and to the pit of the ſtomach.

But for the reſt of them, both men and women, they wear not any teeth, but only a few ſcattering ſometimes here and there in the chains among the reſt of the baubles. Each of them has, it may be,

about

about the neck, three or four hundred ſtrings of beads, ſhells, or the like; but theſe divided into ſeven or eight ranks, and the ſtrings of each, by being a little about one another, make, as it were, ſo many ropes of them.

Several houſes in a village or neighbourhood, have one war-houſe or fort in common to them; which is generally at leaſt 120 or 130 foot long, about 25 broad, the wall about nine or ten feet high; and in all to the top of the ridge about twenty feet, and covered with leaves as their other houſes. The ſides and ends of theſe war-houſes are full of holes, each about as wide as one's fiſt; but made here and there at random in no regular figure or order. Out of theſe they view an approaching enemy, and ſhoot their arrows. They have no way of flanking an enemy. Theſe houſes are always ſeated on a level, on the nap or edge of a gentle hill; and they clear the coaſt of woods and ſhrubs, for a bow-ſhot quite round it. There is a door-way at each end; and to barricade it, a ſort of door made of macaw-wood and bamboes, both ſplit and bound together with withs; it is about a foot thick: this they have ready to ſet up againſt an enemy's entrance, and two or three poſts in the ground to ſupport it. It is a great inconvenience of theſe forts that they are eaſily ſet on fire; and the Spaniards ſhoot into the thatch, arrows with long ſhanks, made red hot, for that purpoſe. There is uſually a family of Indians living in the war-houſe, as a guard to it, and to keep it clean: and they are always kept pretty neat, as their private houſes alſo are. The war-houſes ſerve them alſo to hold their councils, or other general meetings.

Theſe Indians have tobacco among them. It grows as the tobacco in Virginia, but is not ſo ſtrong: perhaps for want of tranſplanting and manuring, which the Indians do not well underſtand; for they only raiſe it from the ſeed in their plantations. When it is dried and cured, they ſtrip it from the ſtalks, and laying

laying two or three leaves upon one another, they roll up all together ſideways into a long roll, yet leaving a little hollow. Round this they roll other leaves one after another, in the ſame manner, but cloſe and hard, till the roll be as big as one's wriſt, and two or three feet in length. Their way of ſmoaking when they are in company together, is thus: a boy lights one end of a roll and burns it to a coal, wetting the part next it to keep it from waſting too faſt. The other end he puts into his mouth, and blows the ſmoak of the roll into the face of every one of the company or council, though there be 2 or 300 of them. Then they, ſitting in their uſual poſture upon forms, make, with their hands held hollow together, a kind of funnel round their mouths and noſes. Into this they receive the ſmoak as it blows upon them, ſnuffing it up greedily and ſtrongly, as long as ever they are able to hold their breath; and ſeeming to bleſs themſelves, as it were, with the refreſhment it gives them.

The men clear the plantations, and bring them into order, but the women have all the trouble of them afterwards: the digging, houghing, planting, plucking the maize, and ſetting yams, and every thing of huſbandry, is left to them, but only the cutting down trees, or ſuch work that requires greater ſtrength. The women alſo have the managing of affairs within doors; for they are in general the drudges of the family, eſpecially the old women, for ſuch works as they are able to do, as cooking, waſhing, or the like. And abroad alſo the women are to attend their huſbands, and do all their ſervile work. Nay, they are little better than their pack-horſes, carrying all the luggage of their houſhold utenſils, victuals, &c. and when they come to the place where they are to lodge, the wife dreſſes ſupper, while the man hangs up the hammocks; for each of them lies in their own hammock.

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But notwithſtanding the women are put thus to all manner of drudgery about the houſe and plantations, and travelling abroad, and are little better than ſlaves to their huſbands; yet they do their work ſo readily and chearfully, that it appears to be rather their own choice than any neceſſity laid upon them. They are in general very good conditioned, pitiful and courteous to one another, but eſpecially to ſtrangers; ready to give any juſt attendance or aſſiſtance they can. They obſerve their huſbands with a very profound reſpect and duty upon all occaſions; and on the other ſide, their huſbands are very kind and loving to them. I never knew an Indian beat his wife, or give her any hard words: nor even in the quarrels, which they are wont to have in their cups, do they ſhew any roughneſs toward their women who attend them.

Beſide theſe cares, the women have that which more immediately belongs to them, the care of their children. When a woman is delivered of a child, another woman takes it into her arms within half an hour or leſs after it is born, and takes the lying-in woman upon her back, and goes with both of them into the river and waſhes them there. The child for the firſt month is tied upon a board, or piece of macaw-wood ſplit (for that ſerves them uſually for boards, having no ſaws) and this piece of wood is ſwathed to the back of the child; and their children generally grow very ſtraight. When there is occaſion to clean the child, they take it off from the board, and waſh it with cold water; and then ſwathe it on again. The mother takes up the child to give it ſuck, board and all, and lays it down again in a little hammock made for that purpoſe; the upper part of which is kept open with ſhort ſticks.

As the children grow up, the boys are bred to their fathers exerciſes; eſpecially at ſhooting with the bow and arrow, and throwing the lance: at both which

they are very expert. I have ſeen things performed by them with a dexterity almoſt incredible: for inſtance, a little boy of about eight years old, would ſet a cane up on end, and going about twenty paces from it, would ſplit it with a bow and arrow, and not miſs once in ſeveral eſſays. This I have ſeen, and this is the chief of their exerciſe: and as they generally accompany their fathers on hunting, (eſpecially when about ten or twelve years old, and big enough to carry their own proviſion, and a calabaſh of corn-drink) ſo they will ſhoot little birds they meet with, and ſtrike in with the hunt. Their young children they never carry abroad with them on a journey, or on hunting or fighting expeditions. The boys, when grown ſomewhat big, always go abroad with the father and mother, and do what little ſervices they can; but the girls ſtay at home with the old women.

They ſeem very fond of their children, both fathers and mothers; and I have ſcarce ſeen them uſe any ſeverity toward them. And the children are ſuffered to divert themſelves which way they will. Swimming in the rivers and catching fiſh, is a great exerciſe even for the ſmall boys and girls; and the parents alſo uſe that refreſhment. They go quite naked, both boys and girls, till the age of puberty.

The girls are bred up by their mothers to their domeſtic employments. They make them help to dreſs the victuals, and ſet them to draw ſtrings out of maho-bark, and to beat ſilk-graſs, for thread, cordage, and nets. They pick the cotton alſo, and ſpin it for their mothers weaving. For weaving, the women make a roller of wood, about three feet long, turning eaſily about between two poſts. About this they place ſtrings of cotton, of three or four yards long, at moſt, but oftener leſs, according to the uſe the cloth is to be put to, whether for a hammock, or to tie about the waiſts; or for gowns, or blankets to cover them in their hammocks, as they lie in them in

their

their houſes; which are all the uſes they have for cloth: and they never weave a piece of cotton with a deſign to cut it, but of a ſize that ſhall juſt ſerve for a particular uſe. The threads thus coming from the roller are the warp; and for the woof, they twiſt cotton-yarn about a ſmall piece of macaw-wood, notched at each end; and taking up every other thread of the warp with the fingers of one hand, they put the woof through with the other hand, and receive it out on the other ſide: and to make the threads of the woof lie cloſe in the cloth, they ſtrike them at every turn with a long and thin piece of macaw-wood like a ruler, which lies a-croſs between the threads of the warp for that purpoſe.

The girls alſo twiſt cotton-yarn for fringes, and prepare canes, reeds, or palmeto-leaves, as the boys alſo do, for baſket-making. But the making up the baſkets is the men's work; who firſt dye the materials of ſeveral curious lively colours, and then mix and weave them very prettily. They weave little baſkets like cups alſo very neat; with the twigs wrought ſo very fine and cloſe, as to hold any liquor, without any more to do, having no lacker or varniſh: and they as ordinarily drink out of theſe woven cups, as out of their calabaſhes, which they paint very curiouſly. They make baſkets of ſeveral ſizes, for carrying their cloaths, or other uſes, with great variety of work; and ſo firm, that you may cruſh them or throw them about, how you will almoſt, with little or no damage to them.

Adultery is puniſhed among them with the death of both parties. Yet if the woman confeſſes the fact to her huſband, and ſwears ſhe was forced, ſhe finds favour: but if ſhe conceals it, and it be proved againſt her, ſhe is burnt. Their laws are ſevere alſo in other reſpects; for a thief dies without mercy. If a man debauches a virgin, they thruſt a ſort of briar up the paſſage of his penis, and then turn it round ten or a dozen times: which is not only a great torment, but commonly

commonly mortifies the part, and the perſon dies of it; but he has liberty to cure himſelf if he can. Theſe facts muſt be proved by oath; which is by their tooth.

When they marry, the father of the bride, or the next man of kin, keeps her privately in the ſame appartment with himſelf the firſt ſeven nights; whether to expreſs an unwillingneſs to part with her, or for what other reaſon I know not; and ſhe is then delivered to her huſband.

When a man diſpoſes of his daughter, he invites all the Indians within twenty miles round, to a great feaſt, which he provides for them. The men who come to the wedding bring their axes along with them, to work with: the women bring about half a buſhel of maize: the boys bring fruit and roots: the girls fowls and eggs; for none come empty-handed. They ſet their preſents at the door of the houſe, and go away again, till all the reſt of the gueſts have brought theirs; which are all received in, and diſpoſed of by the people of the houſe.

Then the men return firſt to the wedding, and the bridegroom preſents each man with a calabaſh of ſtrong drink, and conducts them through the houſe one by one, into ſome open place behind it. The women come next, who likewiſe receive a calabaſh of liquor, and march through the houſe. Then come the boys, and laſt of all the girls; who all drink at the door, and go after the reſt.

Then come the fathers of the young couple, with their ſon and daughter: the father of the bridegroom leads his ſon, and the father of the bride leads his daughter. The former makes a ſpeech to the company; and then dances about with many antic geſtures, till he is all on a ſweat. Then kneeling down he gives his ſon to the bride; whoſe father is kneeling alſo and holds her, having danced himſelf into a ſweat, as the other. Then the young couple take

each other by the hand, and the bridegroom returns the bride to her father; and thus ends the ceremony.

Then all the men take up their axes, and run ſhouting and hollowing to a tract of woodland, which before is laid out for a plantation for the young couple. There they fall to work, cutting down the woods, and clearing the ground as faſt as they can. Thus they continue about ſeven days, working with the greateſt vigour imaginable: and all the ground which they clear, the women and children plant with maize, or whatever elſe is agreeable to the ſeaſon. They alſo build a houſe for the new-married couple to live in.

The ſeven days being ended, and the young man ſettled with his wife in his new houſe, the company make merry there with chichah co-pah, the corn-drink before deſcribed, of which they are ſure to provide good ſtore. They alſo make proviſion for feaſting; and the gueſts fall too very heartily.

When their eating is over, the men fall to hard drinking: but before they begin, the bridegroom takes all their arms, and hangs them to the ridge-pole of the houſe, where none can get at them but himſelf; for they are very quarrelſome in their drink. They continue night and day, till the liquor is ſpent; which laſts uſually three or four days. During which ſome are always drinking, while others are drunk and ſleeping: and when all the drink is out, and they have recovered their ſenſes, they all return to their own homes.

They have a feaſting on other occaſions alſo: as after a great council held, or any other meeting; which they have ſometimes only for merriment. The men conſtantly drink to one another at meals, ſpeaking ſome word, and reaching out the cup toward the perſon they drink to. They never drink to their women: but theſe conſtantly ſtand by and attend them while they are eating; take the cup of any who

has drank, throw out the remainder of the liquor, rinſe it, and give it full to another. The women at all feaſts, and in their own houſes, wait on their huſbands till they have done; and then go and eat by themſelves, or with one another.

The men when they are at home, trouble themſelves little with any buſineſs; but that they may not be quite idle, they will be often making them cups and baſkets, arrows and heads for them, lances, nets, and the like.

The men make alſo a ſort of pipes of ſmall hollow bamboes, and ſometimes of a ſingle reed. They cut notches in it, and blow it ſtrongly, making a whining noiſe, but without any diſtinct notes: and they frequently entertain themſelves with ſuch inſtruments, as they uſed in their pawawing. They will do any thing to make a noiſe, which they love much; and they keep every one a humming at the ſame time to themſelves.

They hum alſo when they dance; which they do many times thirty or forty in a ring, men only together. They ſtretch out their hands, laying them on another's ſhoulders. Then they move gently ſideways round in the ſame circle; and ſhake all the joints of their bodies with a wriggling antic geſture, as they move along the ring.

They pipe and drum often, even at working times; but their dancing they uſe chiefly when they get together to make merry. When they have danced ſome time, one or other of the company goes out of the ring, jumps about, and plays antic tricks, throwing and catching his lance, bending back toward the ground, and ſpringing forward again, with many other motions, like our tumblers, but with more activity than art: and when one is tired with his tricks, another ſteps out; and ſometimes two or three together. As ſoon as ever it is over, they jump into the river, all in a violent ſweat as they are, and there waſh themſelves clean; and when they come out of

the water, they ſtroke it off from their hair and bodies with their hands. A dancing-bout, if the meeting be large, laſts ſometimes a whole day, ſeldom leſs than five or ſix hours; and it is uſually after having a ſhort drinking-bout: but they don't dance after they have drank very hard.

Theſe, and the huntings and ſhooting at a mark, are their chief divertiſements; for both men and boys will be letting fly at any thing they ſee, though for nothing but exerciſe or trial of ſkill. The women have dancings and merriments by themſelves, when their huſbands paſtimes are over; for they never feaſt or play together with the men: but they will drink by themſelves till they are fuddled.

The women take great care of their huſbands when they have made themſelves drunk. For when they perceive him in ſuch a condition that he can bear up no longer, they get one or two more women to aſſiſt them to take him up, and put him into his hammock; where, as he lies ſnoring, they ſtand by and ſprinkle water on his body to cool him; waſhing his hands, feet and face; ſtroking off that water with their hands as it grows warm, and throwing on freſh. I have ſeen ten or twelve or more, lying thus in their hammocks after a feaſt, and the women ſtanding by to look after them.

The men never ſtir abroad upon the moſt ordinary occaſion, if it be but juſt without the door to make water, but they take with them ſome or other of their weapons; their bow and arrow, lance, hatchet, or macheat or long-knife. Their moſt frequent expeditions in time of peace, are to go a hunting. For this is their way of ſupplying themſelves with fleſh; and they go out as often as it fails at home. They ſometimes go out a family or two by themſelves; but they have often larger and more ſolemn huntings, of a great many in company together: and there is ſeldom a council held, or feaſt, but there is ſome hunting-match concluded on before they part; and a time

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ſet for every one to appear, with their ſeveral neceſſaries, at the general rendezvous.

A hunting expedition laſts ſometimes three or four, ſometimes ten, twelve, ſeventeen or eighteen days, according as they meet with the game, and as the courſe is which they ſteer to find it: for ſometimes they will range to the borders, to viſit or traffic with their neighbouring Indians; and they will hunt all the way as they go and return. They hunt more or leſs at all ſeaſons of the year; never regarding whether their veniſon be in ſeaſon or not. They take with them one or two dogs a-piece, to beat about; and there go as well women as men. When I went with them a hunting, a young woman was appointed me to wait on me, and carry my baſket of proviſions.

When they take a beaſt or bird, they pierce it with the lances, or ſhoot arrows into it, to let out the blood. Then they quarter it (firſt cutting off the head;) and if it be a pecary they ſcald off the hair with hot water; if a warree, they flea it. From ſome of the birds they ſtrip the feathers only, from others the ſkin alſo: and this not regularly, while the carcaſe is whole, but piece-meal, after they have diſmembered it; eſpecially in their journies.

If they intend to preſerve any, having little ſalt, they erect four forked ſticks, eight or nine feet aſunder, on which they lay two parallel ſtaves that ſhall be above a foot from the ground, and ſo make a barbecue. Acroſs theſe ſtaves they lay the pieces of the beaſts or birds, and ſpread underneath a few live coals; to make which they burn a parcel of wood on purpoſe; and turn the ſame pieces, and renew this ſmall fire for three or four days, or a week, till the meat be as dry as a chip, or like our ſmoaked beef. This they do abroad if they kill a great many pecary, birds, &c. and bring the pieces home ready dried; and if there be much of it, the men help the women to carry home the veniſon. Theſe pieces will keep a great while; and when the ſtock is almoſt out,

they go again a hunting. They make a barbecue at home alſo, heaping up theſe dried pieces acroſs, and often putting ſome embers underneath, to keep them from giving, or growing muſty in that moiſt country. From theſe pieces they cut off bits for uſe as they want them.

The Indians, when they travel, guide themſelves either by the ſun, when it ſhines, or by ſteering toward ſuch a determinate point, obſerving the bending of the trees, according as the wind is. If they are at a loſs this way, they notch the bark of trees, to ſee which ſide is thickeſt; which is always the ſouth, or ſunny-ſide: and their way lies generally through woods. They go alſo through ſwamps, boggs, rivers, &c. where there is no ſign of a path, and are often forced to turn aſide; yet will keep their way pretty direct for ſeveral days together; clearing their way through thickets with their macheats, eſpecially if hollow bamboes: for there is no getting through without it. They ſwim over rivers, men, women and children, without felling trees, as we did there. But down the river they uſe either their canoes, or bark-logs made of light wood.

I obſerved among them no diſtinction of weeks, or particular days; no parting the day into hours, or any portions, otherwiſe than by this pointing: and when they uſe this, or any other ſign, yet they ſpeak at the ſame time, and expreſs their meaning in their own language, though to Europeans who underſtand it not. They reckon times paſt by no revolutions of the heavenly bodies, but the moons: for Lacenta, ſpeaking of the havock the Spaniards had made to the weſtward, intimated it was a great many moons ago.

Their computation is by units and tens, and ſcores, to an hundred; beyond which I have not heard them reckon. To expreſs a number above this, they take a lock of their hair, little or great (in proportion to the number they would intimate) and hold it up in their

their hands, ſorting it gradually with their fingers, and ſhaking it. To expreſs a thing innumerable, they take up all the hair on one ſide of the head, and ſhake it.

When we went into the South Seas under captain Sharp, we were in number about 336, as I remember; and a pretty many of the Indians of the Iſthmus bore us company in our march. They were willing to take account of our number as we marched; ſo one of the Indians ſat in the path, and having a little heap of maiz-grains by him, for every man of ours that paſſed by him he put one grain into his baſket. When he had thus taken a great part of our number, one of our men paſſing by, gave his baſket purpoſely a toſs, and threw out his corn, and ſo ſpoiled his account. This ſeemed to diſpleaſe them: yet one of them got a little before, and ſitting cloſe in the wood, at a ſmall diſtance from the narrow path, which we were to paſs one by one, he there took our number in grains of maize. But when he had taken his account, they were put to it to caſt it up: for two or three days after, in the progreſs of our march, coming among ſome of the ſouthern Indians, we ſaw ſome twenty or thirty of the graver men got together, and trying their ſkill to compute the grains in the baſket; which when they had laid upon a plaintain-leaf, ſeveral of them endeavoured to tell one after another: but when they could tell no farther, (the number probably exceeding their arithmetic) and ſeemed to grow very hot, and earneſt in their debates about it, one of them ſtarted up, and ſorting out a lock of his hair with his fingers and ſhaking it, ſeemed to intimate the number to be great and unknown; and ſo put an end to the diſpute. But one of them came after us, and enquired our number in broken Spaniſh.

AN ABSTRACT OF MAJOR ROGERS'S ACCOUNT OF NORTH AMERICA,

DESCRIBING

The ſeveral BRITISH COLONIES on that Continent; and the INTERIOR PARTS of that extenſive Country: With many curious Particulars relating to the INDIAN NATIVES.

THE ſucceſsful diſcoveries and acquiſitions of the Spaniards on the rich continent of South America, ſoon excited the attention of other nations, in like manner to fit out veſſels for diſcoveries, beyond the territories claimed by the Spaniſh monarchs. The details of theſe expeditions would however have led us beyond the limits we can allow: it is ſufficiently known what flouriſhing colonies now exiſt, which were planted along that very extenſive coaſt reaching from the mouth of the river St. Laurence in North America, to the Rio de la Plata in South America; ſome of which ſpread themſelves very far within land: beſide the iſlands in the gulph of Mexico and elſewhere. The diſcoveries to the northward, however, were not rendered ſo memorable as thoſe of the Spaniards; no ſuch powerful regular empires having been found there, as were thoſe of Peru and Mexico. The Indians of North America live in detached tribes and independent nations, whoſe jarring intereſts and hereditary antipathies, have kept them from uniting, and even from increaſing: add to which, that though they

they have not in general been well uſed by the new intruders on their antient lands, who ſeldom conſulted the inclinations of the natives in their firſt ſettlements and ſubſequent claims; yet no ſuch unprincipled inhuman tranſactions have ſtained the records of the Engliſh and other ſettlers, as have diſtinguiſhed thoſe of the firſt Spaniſh adventurers.

Not but that theſe American ſettlements have been the theatres of many ſignal engagements, ſince their firſt planting, in the conteſts between European powers for the poſſeſſion of them: theſe have not only ſpent much of their own blood, but have ſeduced the natives to turn their hands, furniſhed with new weapons of ſwift deſtruction, againſt each other, in their reſpective intereſts and quarrels: hence many of theſe places have frequently changed their maſters.

The continent of North America, the extenſion of which weſtward, is aſtoniſhing, was almoſt entirely claimed and poſſeſſed by the Engliſh and French; the Engliſh ſettling along the coaſt, from the river St. Laurence to Florida, and the French ſettling behind them up the rivers St. Laurence and the Miſſiſſippi. Theſe rival powers, ſoon after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, differing about ſome lands ſituated on the boundaries between them, encroached on by the artful and reſtleſs French; entered into a freſh war, in which the bravery of the Engliſh, under the influence of a miniſter of ſpirit and integrity, exerted itſelf ſo gloriouſly; that the conteſt was decided, not by maintaining the poſſeſſion of the lands firſt in queſtion, but by clearing the country entirely of ſuch troubleſome neighbours: the whole province of Canada, after being conquered by the Britiſh arms, being ceded to us, together with all the country eaſtward of the Miſſiſſippi, at the treaty of Verſailles, in 1762. By the ceſſion of Florida, alſo reſigned to us by the Spaniards, who imprudently at the cloſe of the war, joined our exhauſted and wearied enemy, in the quarrel againſt us; we now enjoy an uninterrupted

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line of ſea-coaſt from the gulph of Mexico northward; and in the northern parts, a country of unknown inland extenſion.

Theſe matters however are foreign to the main purpoſe of our plan to enter minutely into; but that our accounts of this new found world of America may be as compleat as poſſible, it is hoped, that, after Ulloa's voyage to Peru, and Nieuhoff's to Braſil, a brief view of North America in its preſent ſtate, as given by a brave countryman who was perſonally concerned in many of the military tranſactions under the ſeveral generals who commanded there; and who is well acquainted with the inland parts of that vaſt continent; will, with ſome farther materials of a like nature, though not in the direct forms of voyages, prove acceptable by furniſhing many articles of information curious and entertaining to the Engliſh reader.

The principal object Major Rogers profeſſes to have had in view, was to deſcribe the interior parts of North America; of which, as he obſerves, no one has travelled over, or ſeen, ſo much as himſelf. He proceeds to inform us in his introduction, that what is comprehended under the appellation of the *interior* country of America, is of itſelf a larger territory than all the continent of Europe, and at preſent moſtly a deſart, uninhabited, except by ſavages: it cannot therefore be reaſonably expected that any one man has it in his power to give a juſt and minute account of its ſeveral parts, but that he muſt paſs over large tracks of country in very general terms, and in many things depend upon the reports of others, or proceed upon his own uncertain conjectures.

This wide extended country may naturally enough be conſidered under three general diviſions, occaſioned by the three great rivers that take their riſe near the centre of it, namely, St. Laurence, the Chriſtino, and the Miſſiſſippi. The firſt of theſe Mr. Rogers ſays he has traced, and that he is tolerably well acquainted with the country adjacent to it, as far

far up as Lake Superior; from the Green Bay weſtward to the Miſſiſſippi; and from thence down to the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi in the gulph of Mexico. He alſo travelled the country adjacent to the Ohio and its principal branches, and between the Ohio and the Lakes Erie and Meſhigan, and the countries of the ſouthern Indians. But as to the country above Lake Superior, his intelligence was chiefly obtained from Indians, or from priſoners that have travelled with them into it. The ſame is the caſe as to the country at the head of the Miſſiſſippi, and that adjacent to the river Miſauris. The Chriſtino is taken wholly from the Indians: and though the accounts they have given of theſe countries are large, and in ſome particulars very inviting, yet we ſhall do little more than mention their names, unleſs there had been better authority to go upon.

In the account ſubjoined of the cuſtoms and manners of the Indians, many things related by others are purpoſely omitted; ſome, becauſe they are falſe, and others, becauſe they are trite and trifling; thoſe only being mentioned which appeared moſt diſtinguiſhing and abſolutely neceſſary to give a juſt idea of the genius and policy of that people, and of the method in which they are to be treated, in order to our having any ſafe and advantageous commerce with them. And, the long and particular acquaintance Major Rogers had with ſeveral tribes and nations, both in peace and war, has furniſhed him with ample materials to treat the ſubject with propriety.

NORTH AMERICA, as Major Rogers informs us, lies between the latitudes of 10 and 80 degrees north, and chiefly between the longitudes of 48 and 130 degrees weſt from the meridian of London, and is about four thouſand two hundred miles from north to ſouth, and about five thouſand from eaſt to weſt: being bounded on the eaſt by the Atlantic ocean; by the gulph of Mexico, on the ſouth; on the weſt, by the Pacific ocean; and by the northern continent and

ocean

ocean to the northward, through which, ſome ſuppoſe, there is a paſſage into the Pacific or Weſtern ocean. A great part of this vaſt extent of territory is at preſent poſſeſſed by the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, and the original natives, or Indians; the number of which far exceeds that of the Engliſh. In treating of this extenſive continent, it is propoſed,

Firſt, To deſcribe the ſeveral Britiſh governments and colonies on the continent (including alſo the iſlands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and St. John's) ſeparately; beginning with the northernmoſt, and travelling to the ſouthward. And, ſecondly, to give ſome account of the interior or weſtern parts of the country, ſo far as diſcoveries have been made; and of ſuch Indian nations and tribes that are known by us to inhabit it.

NEWFOUNDLAND is the moſt conſiderable iſland in North America; it is ſituated eaſt of the gulf of St. Lawrence, between 46° 40′ and 42° 7′ north latitude, and 41° 52′ and 57° 40′ weſt longitude, is bounded eaſterly and ſoutherly by the Atlantic ocean, northerly by the ſtreights of Belliſle, and on the weſt by the gulf of St. Lawrence.

This iſland was diſcovered by the Cabots, in 1497, who took poſſeſſion of it in the name of King Henry VII.; but no colony was planted here till ſome conſiderable time after. The ſoil being not the moſt fertile, and the cold extremely ſevere, were circumſtances, no doubt, which prevented the Engliſh from attempting a ſettlement, till they were at length allured to it, for the ſake of fiſhing on the banks which lie off the ſouth-eaſterly parts of it.

The right of fiſhing on theſe banks has given riſe to many diſputes between the French and Engliſh; but by the peace of 1762, the liberty of fiſhing there by the French is ſubjected to very particular reſtrictions.

There

There are in this iſland many fine rivers, lakes, and rivulets, which abound with beaver, otters, and the like, with plenty of ſalmon, and other kinds of fiſh. There is alſo great plenty of wild fowl, and the foreſts are ſtored with deer, mooſe, bears, and wolves, in great plenty. But the great and ſtaple commodity of this iſland is cod-fiſh, which are here larger and in greater abundance than in any part of the world yet diſcovered; and great part of the world is at preſent ſupplied with this article chiefly from hence. The number of Engliſh inhabitants on this iſland is fluctuating, there being nearly double the number in ſummer to what there is in the winter.

St. John's, ſituated on the ſoutherly part of the iſland, is the capital town, containing between three and fourſcore houſes.

Theſe coaſts are extremely ſubject to fogs, occaſioned by the vapours, which are exhaled from the lakes, ſwamps, and bogs, with which the iſland abounds. The winters are ſevere, attended with almoſt continual ſtorms of ſnow, ſleet, &c. the ſky being generally overcaſt.

Here are few cattle, ſheep, or horſes; inſtead of the latter, the inhabitants make uſe of dogs for drawing of wood and other conveyances, which they manage with great dexterity, fixing them in leather collars, to any number they pleaſe.

The government of this iſland is at preſent veſted in the crown of Great Britain, including with it the iſlands of Anticoſti and Madelaine, and others of ſmaller note, and the coaſts of Labrador, from the river St. John's to Hudſon's ſtreights.

CAPE BRETON, is an iſland ſituated to the ſouthweſt of Newfoundland, in 46 deg. north latitude, and 58 deg. 30 min. weſt longitude; diſtant from Newfoundland about 15 leagues, and ſeparated from the continent by a narrow paſſage on the weſt. Its length is about 110 miles from north-eaſt to ſouthweſt, and about 66 wide.

The

The ſoil and climate here are much the ſame as in Newfoundland, and conſequently its produce is not greatly different.

There are ſeveral harbours and bays round the iſland; and, by its ſituation in the gulf of St. Lawrence, may be looked upon as the key of Canada, being a ſafe retreat for ſhips bound either to or from thence.

This, together with its conveniency for fiſhing, induced the French, when they were excluded from Newfoundland and Acadia, to begin a ſettlement here in 1714, which they continued to increaſe; but were, however, diſpoſſeſſed in 1745 by the New-Englanders. It was ceded by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and again taken in 1758; but ſince the conqueſt of all Canada, the fortifications have been blown up, and the town diſmantled.

The port of Louiſburg is a league in length, and a quarter of a league broad, with good anchoring-ground, from ſix to ten fathom water. The harbour is generally froze from November till May. This iſland is at preſent under the juriſdiction of the governor of Nova Scotia.

ST. JOHN's ISLAND is ſituated in the neighbourhood of Cape Breton, being partly between that and the continent, and conſequently has no great difference of climate, yet varies widely from it as to the pleaſantneſs and fertility of its ſoil. It is computed to be about ſixty miles in length, has a commodious harbour, and great conveniencies for carrying on the fiſhery. It abounds with a variety of uſeful timber, and moſt kinds of wild game common to the country.—In ſhort, ſo fertile is this iſland, and ſo well improved while poſſeſſed by the French, that it was juſtly ſtiled the granary of Canada, furniſhing them in great abundance with moſt kinds of grain, as well as great quantities of cattle.

This iſland, at preſent, is under the governor of Nova Scotia, as are the leſſer iſlands adjacent.

ACADIA,

ACADIA, or NOVA SCOTIA, on the continent of North America, is ſituated between 44 and 49 degrees north latitude, and is bounded ſoutherly by the Atlantic ocean; weſterly by the bay of Fundy, and the province of Main, belonging to the Maſſachuſet's bay; northerly by Canada, or the province of Quebec; and eaſterly by the gulf of St. Lawrence.

Though this country was diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot in 1497, yet it lay neglected many years, and underwent ſeveral changes and revolutions before any conſiderable ſettlement was made in it; being ſometimes in the hands of the French, and at other times in thoſe of the Engliſh; until the treaty of Utrecht, when it was abſolutely yielded to Great Britain by an expreſs article.

On the ſea-coaſts of this province are many ſafe and convenient harbours; but none equal to that of Chebucta, or Halifax, which is allowed to be the fineſt in America, and capable of being made equal to any in Europe, both for ſafety and conveniency, having good anchoring-ground, and water ſufficient for any ſhip that ſwims. It is the place of rendezvous for the royal navy in America, having a royal dock, and conveniencies for a ſhip of any rate, to heave down and careen.

Situated on the weſt-ſide of this harbour, is the town of Halifax, which, though its foundations were laid in 1747, is now a conſiderable town, conſiſting of upwards of a thouſand houſes, and is the capital of the whole province; and, indeed, from the ſame æra we may date the origin of this province, there being no government properly eſtabliſhed in it till then. There are alſo ſeveral other towns laid out round this bay, and partly inhabited; but the moſt conſiderable ſettlements are upon the bay of Fundy, and upon the rivers which fall into it.

The inhabitants in this province may be computed at about twenty thouſand. Its northerly ſituation expoſes

poſes it to ſevere cold and deep ſnows in winter; but is generally very healthy, and agreeable to Engliſh conſtitutions, as are all the northern provinces.—The ſoil is various, being in ſome parts very rough and barren; in others exceeding pleaſant and fertile. The commodities exported from this province to other parts are chiefly lumber, ſuch as plank, ſtaves, hoops, joiſts, &c. and fiſh.

The king is ſovereign of the ſoil, and appoints the governor, who is his captain-general; the lieutenant-governor and council are likewiſe appointed by his majeſty, which form the upper houſe; and the lower houſe is formed of the repreſentatives, who are choſen by the freeholders; but the governor can oppoſe his negative to their choice.

As fiſh is the ſtaple commodity, and almoſt the only article of trade in the provinces of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, with their dependant iſlands; it will not, perhaps, be diſagreeable to the reader to give ſome account in this place of the method which they take to cure and manufacture the cod-fiſh fit for market.

The fiſh caught near the ſhore are obſerved to be by far the beſt; the veſſels employed in this buſineſs are generally ſmall ſhallops, which come to ſhore every day, where the fiſhermen throw the cod upon a ſtage prepared for that purpoſe. One of them, who is called the beheader, opens the fiſh with a two-edged knife, and cuts off the head; a ſecond, hands the fiſh on to the carver, who ſtands oppoſite to him at a table erected upon the ſtage; the carver, with a ſingle-edged knife, ſix or eight inches long, and very thick on the back to increaſe its weight, ſplits the fiſh open; then it is conveyed to the ſalter, who places it with the ſkin undermoſt in a barrel, and very ſlightly covers it with ſalt, laying the fiſh regularly upon one another. — After leaving the cod in ſalt for a few days, they waſh it well, make it up in piles, and in fair weather ſpread it out, with the ſkin undermoſt, on a kind

kind of ſtage raiſed with wattles, about two feet from the ground, or upon ſtones; before night they turn the ſkin uppermoſt, which they alſo do whenever it rains: when the fiſh has been dried a little, it is raiſed into larger piles, where it reſts a day or two; after which it is again expoſed to the air, and turned according as there is occaſion, before they raiſe it into larger piles in the ſame form; where, after this operation, it ſometimes remains fifteen days without being moved at all; at the end of which it is once more expoſed to the air, and, when almoſt dry, gathered together again, in order to ſweat; which operation takes twenty-four hours or more, according to the ſeaſon; then it is opened the laſt time to the air, and, when thoroughly dry, houſed.

Fiſh manufactured in this manner are not only more fair to the eye, but more grateful to the taſte, than thoſe which are partly prepared at ſea; as is the caſe with larger veſſels which go out, and are loaded, before they return; opening, ſalting and packing their fiſh in the hold of the veſſel: by which means it is forty or fifty days, and often much longer, before they return to ſhore, when they proceed with it as before mentioned.

The fiſh cured in the ſpring, before the great heats, is generally the beſt, if properly prepared; which depends upon the ſkill and diligence of thoſe employed about it, and alſo upon the quality of the ſalt made uſe of: on which laſt account the Engliſh caught fiſh is generally inferior to the American, the ſalt they make uſe of often having a mineral quality, or perhaps owing to their not having the like opportunity to prepare it ſeaſonably, by reaſon of the length of the voyage.

The fiſh caught in October or November may continue in ſalt till March, or the beginning of April, without any ſenſible damage; when it is waſhed and undergoes the proceſs above deſcribed.

The PROVINCE of QUEBEC is much the largeſt of any upon the continent. Quebec, which is the metropolis, and near the centre of it, is ſituated in 46 deg. 55 min. north latitude, and 69 deg. 48 min. weſt longitude. It is bounded north-eaſterly by the gulf of St. Lawrence, and the river St. John's; north-weſterly, by wild uninhabited lands; ſouth-weſterly, by the ſame; and ſoutherly, by the province of New York, the New-England provinces, and the province of Nova Scotia; extending from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt about five hundred miles, and upward of two hundred miles wide. This country was firſt ſettled by the French, who kept the poſſeſſion and government of it till September 13, 1759, when Quebec was ſurrendered to the Generals Monkton and Townſhend, commanding the Britiſh troops that had been deſtined for the expedition againſt it the preceding ſpring, under the command of General Wolf; and September 8, 1760, all Canada was given up to the Engliſh, and has ſince been confirmed to the Britiſh crown by the treaty of peace. The French comprehended under the name of Canada a much larger territory than the above-mentioned; taking into their claim great part of the New-England provinces, and of the provinces of New-York and Nova Scotia, northerly to Hudſon's Bay, weſterly to the Pacific ocean, ſoutherly to the gulf of Mexico: and had erected a chain of forts, from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence to their ſettlements at Louiſiana, to ſupport their claim.

There are many ſettlements upon the banks of the river St. Lawrence, and of thoſe rivers which empty into it, as well as on the iſlands ſurrounded by it; but none deſerving of particular notice in this place, except Quebec and Montreal. The former, ſituated on the north ſide of the river, about 300 miles from the mouth, contains upwards of 1500 dwelling-houſes, well-built, beſide ſeveral public buildings, which are ſtately and ſplendid. This town, beſide the natural

ſafety of its ſituation, is now well fortified. Montreal is near as large and populous as Quebec, and is much more pleaſantly ſituated: being on an iſland of the ſame name, in the river St. Lawrence, about 200 miles above Quebec. The ſtreets are regular, the houſes well-built, commodious, and agreeable; and every houſe may be ſeen at one view from the harbour, or from the ſouthermoſt ſide of the river; as the hill, on the ſide of which the town ſtands, falls gradually to the water. The public buildings here exceed thoſe of Quebec for beauty. The number of inhabitants in Canada is upward of 100,000. The iſland of Montreal is exceedingly fertile, and well-improved, producing great plenty of greens, and ſome fruit. There are ſeveral other iſlands to the north of Montreal, which are formed by the Attawawas river, and which are improved. In the lake St. Francis, ſouth-weſt of Montreal, are ſeveral iſlands that are inhabited and well-improved; St. Pierre is the moſt conſiderable of them.

The rivers, branching through this extenſive country, are very numerous, and many of them navigable a conſiderable way into the country: but they are all ſwallowed up in the river St. Lawrence. This river is eighty miles wide at its entrance into the ſea at Cape Roſiers, on the ſide of Nova Scotia; ſomething to the eaſtward of which is the iſland of Anticoſta, of not much account. The courſe of the river is nearly through the middle of the province, from the ſouth-weſt to the north-eaſt, receiving the waters of a great many navigable rivers, and forming a great variety of bays, harbours, and iſlands; the moſt pleaſant and fruitful of which is the iſland of Orleans, a little below Quebec.—The ſoil of this iſland is excellent, and, being well improved, is a garden for the city of Quebec, producing in great abundance all kinds of grain and vegetables common to the climate. This iſland is twenty-one miles in length, and three or four wide.

The French, while they had poſſeſſion of this province, very induſtriouſly repreſented the navigation of the river St. Lawrence to be difficult and dangerous; but we have ſince found the contrary to be the caſe, ſhips of the line meeting with no difficulty in going to Quebec. The land in general, on both ſides of the river, is low and level; indeed oppoſite to Quebec are two conſiderable mountains, called the Lady Mountains, which from this place run ſouth-weſt through the continent to the country of the Creek Indians, at the north-part of the Two Floridas, in one continual ridge; and wherever rivers have forced their way through them, they riſe on each ſide very ſteep to their common height. This ridge of mountains is called the Apalachian Hills; and again at Montreal ſome hills appear to the north-weſt of it.

The climate here is cold, the winters long and tedious, eſpecially in the north-eaſterly parts of the province; notwithſtanding which the ſoil is none of the worſt, being productive of moſt kinds of Engliſh grain and vegetables, common to the climate, in great abundance. The ſummers are exceeding pleaſant, and ſo prolific, that the farmer expects to reap his crop in ſixteen weeks from the ſowing of his ſeed. There is in ſome parts of this province very excellent timber. In ſhort, notwithſtanding its northwardly ſituation, it may be juſtly denominated a healthy, fruitful, and pleaſant country, affording moſt of the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life; having (though moſtly ſituate within land) all the advantages of an extended ſea-coaſt, by means of the river St. Lawrence, which affords an eaſy conveyance from one part of the province to another.

The chief commodities exported from this province are timber, furs, deer, elk, and mooſe ſkins, &c.

The government is the ſame as that of Nova Scotia: and the religion of the French inhabitants is that of the church of Rome; being tolerated in the free exerciſe

exerciſe of it by the capitulation, which was confirmed to them by the ſubſequent treaty; his Britannic majeſty has the appointment of their biſhop.

NEW ENGLAND is ſituated between 41 and 43 degrees 50 min. north latitude, and 64 deg. 40 min. and 73 deg. weſt longitude, is bounded north-eaſterly and eaſterly by Nova Scotia and the bay of Fundy, north-weſterly by Canada, weſterly by the province of New-York, ſoutherly by the Sound, and ſouth-eaſterly by the Atlantic ocean, having its ſea-coaſts very irregular and broken by a variety of bays and inlets.

This territory is divided into five diſtinct diſtricts or governments; the moſt northerly is the province of Main, which now is called the county of York, being under the juriſdiction of the Maſſachuſet's Bay. Next to this county, and between it and the Maſſachuſet's Bay, is the province of New Hampſhire: next to the bay-government is the colony of Rhode iſland: and to the ſouth and weſt of both of them, is the colony of Connecticut. Theſe ſeveral diſtricts, in effect, took their riſe from the firſt ſettlement made by the Engliſh in this country, which was the colony of Plymouth, ſituated near Cape Cod, and which now, as well as the province of Main, is incorporated into that of the MASSACHUSET'S Bay.

The province of MAIN is ſeparated from the others by the province of New Hampſhire, running in between them about thirty miles wide upon the ſea. Indeed for ſeveral years the province of New Hampſhire, as well as the ſcattering ſettlements of Nova Scotia, were under the juriſdiction of this province. That part of it called the province of Main, or county of York, is bounded weſterly by New Hampſhire, northerly by Canada, north-eaſterly by Nova Scotia, or the river St. John's, ſouth-eaſterly and ſouthwardly by the ſea for near 200 miles. The other part of this province has New Hampſhire for its northern boundary, eaſterly and ſoutherly it is bounded

by the ſea, ſouth-weſt and weſterly by the colonies of Rhode iſland and Connecticut, and the province of New York.

The town of Boſton is ſituated upon a peninſula at the bottom of the Maſſachuſet's Bay, and contains between 4 and 5000 houſes, which in general are well-built; and ſeveral of the public buildings are very ſpacious and elegant. The number of inhabitants in the whole province is computed to be upward of 200,000.

That part of the province called the county of York has a very cold ſoil; great part of it toward the province of Quebec being mountainous, is entirely unfit for agriculture; and that toward the ſea-coaſts is low, and covered with woods, excepting near the banks of rivers, which fall from the mountains (of which there is a great number) on which multitudes of ſaw-mills are erected. Here may be found plenty of oak, aſh, and maple; and on ſeveral of theſe rivers, for many miles together, the land is pretty good; and doubtleſs would have been better improved, had not the inhabitants for many years paſt been kept in almoſt continual alarms, and ſometimes been driven from their plantations by the ſavages.

There are ſeveral ſafe and convenient harbours along the ſea-coaſts, the principal of which is Caſco Bay, the moſt conſiderable town in the country, where great part of the maſts for the royal navy are taken in.

The other part of the province has a variety of ſoil, it being in ſome places very barren, in others fertile, and abundantly productive of Indian corn, rye, oats, barley, flax, peaſe, &c. wheat being raiſed only in the weſterly parts of it. The ſurface is generally rocky and uneven, excepting near the rivers, where are ſome pleaſant inter-vales.

The chief commodities exported from this province are ſhips ready-built, timber, furs, fiſh, pot-aſh, caſt iron-ware, oil, tallow, &c.

His

His Britannic Majeſty appoints the governor, lieutenant-governor, ſecretary, and the officers of the admiralty, in this province; and the freeholders chuſe a houſe of repreſentatives, who chuſe a ſpeaker and council, or upper houſe. The governor, however, has a negative on their choice; but he and all the officers in the province (except the comptroller of his majeſty's cuſtoms) receive their ſalaries by a vote of the two houſes, who have never yet been brought to ſettle a ſalary not even upon the governor; who generally has it in his inſtructions from his majeſty to inſiſt upon their doing it. They however commonly grant him 1000 l. ſterling per annum.

The PROVINCE of NEW HAMPSHIRE is bounded on the ſouth by Maſſachuſet's Bay, on the weſt by the province of New York, on the north by Canada, and north-eaſterly by the county of York, having only thirty miles of ſea-coaſt.

The town of Portſmouth, which is the metropolis of this province, contains about 700 dwelling houſes, and four meeting-houſes and a chapel. It is very pleaſantly ſituated on Piſcataqua Bay, having a ſafe and convenient harbour, where the largeſt ſhips may ride ſecurely. From this port annually ſail about 200 veſſels, loaded chiefly with timber, fiſh, &c. for the Weſt Indies, which having diſpoſed of, they reload, and proceed from thence to Europe, where both veſſels and cargoes are ſold, and the mariners return paſſengers.

The other conſiderable towns for trade in this province, are Hampton, Cocheeha, and Exeter. Londonderry, an inland town about thirty-five miles from Portſmouth, is conſiderable for manufacturing of linen, being peopled chiefly with the natives of Ireland. The number of inhabitants in this province is about 70,000, which have greatly increaſed ſince the reduction of Canada.

The ſoil of this province is various, much reſembling that of the county of York already deſcribed,

eſpecially the northerly parts of it, being mountainous and broken.

The moſt conſiderable mountains in this province, and indeed in New England, are thoſe called the White Mountains, ſo called from their appearance, which is like ſnow, conſiſting, as is generally ſuppoſed, of a white flint, from which the reflection of the ſun is very brilliant and dazzling; and by their prodigious height are to be ſeen at a very great diſtance, being often diſcovered by the ſeamen coaſting the eaſtern ſhore, when all the intermediate land is entirely concealed. It is not known that any perſon was ever on the top of theſe mountains. The Indians have often attempted it in vain, by reaſon of the change of the air they met with; which Major Rogers ſays he is inclined to believe, having aſcended them himſelf till the alteration of air was very perceptible, when he had not advanced half way up. The valleys below were then concealed by the clouds. Indeed there are ſeveral other mountains in this country, whoſe tops are above the ordinary clouds, rarely, if ever, receiving the benefit of rain upon them.

The baſis of the White Mountains is a tract of about fifty-five miles ſquare, from which they riſe in cragged heads, one above another, in an irregular manner, all the way to the top. For the firſt four or five miles of aſcent, there are found beach, hemlock, and ſome white pines; higher up the growth is chiefly black ſpruce for ſix or ſeven miles, where the ſides are clad with a white moſs. Up higher ſcarce any thing is found growing; for which reaſon, if there was no other, the aſcent would be very difficult, the mountain being extremely ſteep. There are many ſtreams of water guſhing out of the ſides, which run down with great rapidity: indeed all the largeſt and beſt rivers in New England take their riſe from ſome part of theſe mountains. By all which ſtreams the riches of theſe hills, whoſe tops are inacceſſible,

are

are annually carried to and diſtributed among the neighbouring provinces.

In the province of New Hampſhire is a great plenty and variety of timber; its foreſts abound with all kinds of game common to the climate; and its rivers with ſalmon, ſhad, eels, trout, &c. Some fiſheries are carried on in the ſea-ports, but its ſcanty limits on the ſea forbid its becoming ſo conſiderable as its neighbours in that branch. The produce of the ſoil is chiefly Indian corn, rye, oats, peaſe, it being too cold for wheat: they alſo raiſe ſome hemp and flax, and breed black cattle, horſes, ſheep, &c. but in no great abundance.

The chief commodities exported from this province, are maſts for the royal navy, ſtaves, boards, ſhingles, furs, &c.

The governor, lieutenant-governor, council, and ſecretary, and the officers of the admiralty in this province, are appointed by his Britannic Majeſty, who is abſolute ſovereign of the ſoil. The ſeveral towns and diſtricts chuſe their repreſentatives; and all inferior executive officers are appointed by the governor, with the advice of his majeſty's council.

This infant province labours under a great inconvenience in judicial matters, there being but one place in the province at which the courts of juſtice are held, viz. at Portſmouth, one of the extremities: hence many of the inhabitants often have to travel 150 or 200 miles on trifling occaſions.

CONNECTICUT comprehends what were originally the colony of Connecticut or Hartford, and that of New Haven; being incorporated into one in 1692, ſtill retaining, by a charter then granted them, all the privileges of their ancient charters; and, indeed, ever ſince their union, they have kept up two ſeats of government, viz. Hartford and New Haven, at which places their general court or aſſembly ſits alternately, for tranſacting the affairs of the colony. This colony is bounded by the Maſſachuſet's on the north,

north, New York on the weſt, ſoutherly by the Sound, and eaſterly by Rhode-Iſland and a part of the Maſſachuſet's Bay. It hath many fine towns, pleaſantly ſituated upon the river Connecticut, and along the Sound; the principal of which, for trade and commerce, are New London, Hartford, and New Haven; the latter of which, ſituated on New Haven Bay, is elegantly laid out. The number of inhabitants in the whole colony is ſuppoſed to be about two hundred and ten thouſand.

The ſoil of this colony is various, much of it being uneven, rocky, cold, and barren; and other parts exceeding pleaſant and fertile, eſpecially on Connecticut river already mentioned, whoſe inter-vales produce all kinds of grain and fruit common to the climate in great abundance, rarely diſappointing, and often exceeding the hopes of the huſbandman.

The trade of this colony to foreign parts is very inconſiderable, they being chiefly ſupplied with foreign commodities from Boſton and New York; in exchange for which they ſend beef, pork, flax-ſeed, onions, &c.

There are ſome iron-works in this colony carried on to great advantage; and they ſhip ſome lumber and horſes to the Weſt Indies, and conſiderable quantities of ſaſſafras to Holland, &c.

They have always been exceedingly careful in this colony not to abuſe or exceed the rights and privileges granted them by their charter, whereby they might incur a forfeiture of it; but, in conformity to it, continue annually to chuſe their own governor, lieutenant-governor, aſſiſtants, and deputies, &c. by whom all executive officers are appointed and authoriſed.

The Colony of RHODE-ISLAND comprehends what were originally the colonies or plantations of Rhode-Iſland and Providence, being incorporated into one, by a new charter, about the ſame time as the colony of Connecticut; and, like that, they ſtill retain

retain the rights and privileges that were at firſt granted them in their ſeparate ſtate, keeping up likewiſe two ſeats of government, viz. Newport and Providence, at which places their general court is held alternately.

This colony has but a ſmall territory, and is bounded north and eaſt by the Maſſachuſet's Bay, ſoutherly by the ocean, and weſterly by Connecticut. The principal towns in it are thoſe already mentioned of Newport, ſituated on the iſland called Rhode-Iſland, pleaſantly enough, and has a ſafe and good harbour for ordinary ſhipping; and Providence, ſituated not leſs pleaſantly upon Providence river, is a very thriving town, and has a conſiderable trade. The number of inhabitants in this colony is computed to be about 70,000.

The ſoil is generally low, and inclined to rocks and ſtones; however, when properly improved, produces Indian corn, rye, oats, peaſe, hemp, flax, and ſome wheat, and moſt kinds of fruit common to the climate, in great perfection, eſpecially on Rhode-Iſland itſelf.

The principal commodities exported from hence, are horſes, ſheep, cheeſe, and the produce they procure from the neighbouring provinces, ſuch as fiſh and lumber from the Maſſachuſet's and New Hampſhire; flour, beef, and pork, from Philadelphia, New York, and Connecticut, which they commonly pay for in rum, ſugar, and molaſſes, imported from the Weſt Indies, in tea from Holland, or in ſlaves from the coaſts of Africa.

The form of government here is in all reſpects the ſame as in the colony of Connecticut. They are not, however, ſo ſcrupulous in keeping up to the terms of their charter, often diſpenſing with it in ſome eſſential points, and taking liberties, not only detrimental to the other provinces, but even to the nation, eſpecially in times of war, by carrying on an illicit trade with the enemy, and ſupplying them with the moſt material

rial articles. Nor can it be greatly wondered at that their governor ſhould fall in with ſo clandeſtine a method for the procurement of a livelihood, when it is conſidered that they allow him but fifty or ſixty dollars per annum for his maintenance; beſide, as he is annually elected, there are always competitors for the government; and generally he who diſtributes the moſt caſh, and gives the beſt entertainments, is the man who obtains a majority of votes. Theſe election expences generally run high, and (like the elections in the mother country) muſt be refunded ſome way or other during his reign who happens to be elected.

There are in this colony men of almoſt every religious perſuaſion in the world. The greateſt number are Quakers, and many make no particular profeſſion of any: on which account no queſtions are here aſked, every man being left to think and act for himſelf. This province is infeſted with a raſcally ſet of Jews, who fail not to take advantage of the great liberty here given to men of all profeſſions and religions, and are a peſt not only to this, but the neighbouring provinces.

There is not one free-ſchool in the whole colony, and the education of children, generally, ſhamefully neglected.

NEW YORK is ſituated between 40 and 44 deg. north latitude, and 70 and 76 deg. weſt longitude, being bounded eaſt by the New England provinces, north by the province of Quebec, north-weſt and weſt by the lands of the Five Nations and part of Penſylvania, ſouth-weſterly and ſoutherly, by the province of Jerſey and the Atlantic ocean, having a very extenſive and valuable territory.

This province (as well as the Jerſies and Penſylvania) was originally ſettled by the Swedes, not long after the New England people ſettled at Plymouth; and after them ſome Dutch adventurers ſettled here, who, being reinforced from Holland, quickly became the

the ſtrongeſt party, and obliged the Swedes to acknowledge them as the ſole proprietors of the country, paying no regard to the claim of the Engliſh, who had not only diſcovered, but made it before. Their intruſions and uſurpations continued during the ſucceeding troubleſome times of England; but King Charles I. having made a grant of what is now the provinces of New York, New Jerſey, and Pennſylvania, to his brother James, then Duke of York, and High-admiral, a fleet, under the command of Sir Robert Carr, was ſent in 1664 with a ſufficient number of land-forces, to take poſſeſſion of the country that had been granted him; who ſoon diſmantled the forts the Dutch had erected there, and obliged them to become Britiſh ſubjects, or leave the country. The people gladly accepted of the former alternative; whence it is that many of the beſt families in New York, to this day, appear by their names to be of Dutch extraction.

New Amſterdam, ſituated on an iſland at the mouth of Hudſon's river, was pitched upon for the metropolis, its name being changed to that of New York, in honour of the proprietor's title; and from the name of the city, the country to the eaſt and north, and indeed the whole province, got under the ſame appellation; as does likewiſe the county of Albany, where the Dutch had erected a fort, named Orange Fort, receive the name of Albany, from the Duke's other title.

The country being thus ſubdued, became, by prudent management, a very flouriſhing colony; Mr. Nichols their firſt governor making it one of his firſt ſtudies to cultivate a friendſhip, and enter into a treaty of peace, with the Mohocks, or Five Nations of the Indians, who have ever ſince continued true and faithful, and been of great ſervice to this province.

In 1673, a war breaking out between England and the States-general, the Dutch ſent a fleet to recover this

this colony, and again reduced it to their obedie
but they kept poſſeſſion thereof but a very ſhort t
it being ceded to the crown of Great Britain (an
governor replaced) by the treaty which followe
1674; ever ſince which time it hath been unde
Engliſh government.

The city of New York, which is governed by a
or and aldermen, is ſituated on an iſland bounde
Hudſon's river on the weſt, the Bay and Soun
the ſouth and eaſt, and a ſmall creek or channel c
municating with the Sound and Hudſon's river, a
ſixteen miles north from the city. In the city ar
tween 2 and 3000 houſes, generally well built;
the ſtreets irregular. It hath ſeveral ſpacious pu
buildings, among which the college and the cc
houſe are the moſt conſiderable, and the gover
manſion-houſe within the fort; the houſes for pu
worſhip are no-ways deſpicable, eſpecially the
Engliſh churches. This city abounds with n
wealthy merchants, who carry on a large trad
foreign parts.

The next conſiderable place in this province is
city of Albany, ſituated upon the weſt-ſide of H
ſon's river, 150 miles above New York, contai
near 400 houſes; others are Shenectady, on the
hock river, fifteen miles above Albany; Eſopus, l
way between Albany and York; and Pecke
about ten miles further down the river. The n
ber of inhabitants in the whole province are al
150,000.

The ſoil of this province is generally very ple
and fertile, producing in great abundance all ſor
grain and fruit, common to the climate; eſpec
the inter-vales, which are many, and large, upo
extended rivers, of which Hudſon's river is the c
This river is navigable for veſſels of an hundred
as high as Albany, and ſhallops can go eight or
miles higher. About eight miles above Albany
Mohock river empties itſelf at ſeveral mouths, ca

the ſprouts, into this. This river takes it riſe in the Mohock country, and is navigable (excepting ſome few falls) for whale-boats and battoes, for upward of one hundred miles; its courſe is eaſtwardly, and has adjacent to it many fine inter-vales, particularly that called the German Flats, being ſettled with Germans, and is extended along the river for fifty miles in length, and about two in width.

In the before-mentioned rivers is great plenty of fiſh. There are ſeveral pleaſant and fruitful iſlands to the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt of the city; and, among theſe, that called Long Iſland deſerves the firſt notice.

This iſland is about 150 miles in length, and in ſome places twenty miles wide; the middle of the iſland is ſomewhat barren, but both ends are moſt excellent ſoil, improved perhaps to as great advantage as any lands in America: it produces all kinds of grain and fruit, to be found in this part of the country, to great perfection; and abounds with black cattle, ſheep, ſwine, horſes, &c. beyond any other part of the province. The produce of ſome ſingle acres at the weſt end, which is handy to New York market, by report annually amounts to near a hundred pounds ſterling. And ſo productive is this iſland of the human ſpecies, that no leſs than a hundred families annually remove from hence to other places, generally carrying with them an handſome ſum to begin with; and a much greater number of women are annually married from hence into the neighbouring plantations.

The ſituation of New York is extremely happy for trade, having a ſafe and convenient harbour, acceſſible three different ways for ſhips of common burthen; viz. by way of the Sound, between Long iſland and Streighten iſland, (which is the moſt uſual and eaſy entrance); and again between Streighten iſland and the Jerſey-ſhore. There are eaſy conveyances to and from it by water, upon its rivers and lakes (ex-

cept ſome few carrying-places) to Montreal and Quebec northward, and to the great lakes Erie, Ontario, &c. weſtward, for 600 miles; and upon the ſea it has not only the advantage of its own coaſts, but alſo of Connecticut and the Jerſies, their trade in great meaſure centering here.

The commodities exported from hence are therefore thoſe of the three governments, ſuch as wheat, flour, beef, pork, furs, and caſtor, in great abundance; ſtaves, plank, lumber, flax-ſeed, pig and bar iron, and ſome copper. Of late, great encouragement is given to ſeveral manufactories, eſpecially that of hemp: and in the city a ſociety is formed, who ſit at ſtated times, to conſult methods for promoting trade and huſbandry in their various branches, and the manufacturing of linen, wool, iron, &c.

His Britannic Majeſty is abſolute ſovereign of the ſoil of this province, and by him the governor, lieutenant-governor, ſecretary, council, &c. are appointed; the freeholders of the ſeveral counties electing their own repreſentatives, to form a legiſlative body with them. The cities of New York and Albany have likewiſe the privilege, by their charters, of making by-laws for themſelves.

The religious perſuaſions here are very numerous; there being Epiſcopalians, Lutherans, Preſbyterians, Anabaptiſts, Moravians, Quakers, and Jews, who not only worſhip in all their various forms, but in different languages. Learning of late hath been much encouraged in this province, the college being well eſtabliſhed, and furniſhed with a preſident, profeſſors, and tutors, and a good library.

The PROVINCE of NEW JERSEY, is of a triangular form, and is ſituated between New York and Penſylvania: having the province of New York northerly, Penſylvania weſterly and ſoutherly, and the Atlantic ocean eaſterly, from the mouth of Hudſon's river to the mouth of Delaware river. This province, like New York, was originally ſettled by the Swedes,

Swedes, and was deemed a part of what the Dutch had poſſeſſed themſelves of, by the name of Nova Belgia. It was contained in the grant made by King Charles to his brother James, Duke of York, in 1663, who the year following made a grant of that part called New Jerſey to Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret. Theſe two proprietors ſent Philip Carteret, Eſq; as governor; and the lands being granted to the ſettlers for ſix or ſeven years, free of quit-rents, induced many, eſpecially diſſenters, to come from England, and ſettle in this country; ſo that the inhabitants, being a compoſition of Swedes, Dutch, and Engliſh, among whom were ſome of almoſt every religious perſuaſion under heaven; they were like ſo many jarring elements pent up together, and could not be reduced and reconciled to any ſettled form of government, but by a military force. The ſeveral diſturbances which enſued, at length ſo wearied out the proprietors, that they in the year 1702 ſurrendered the entire government of both the Jerſies to the crown, reſerving only to themſelves all their other rights, and ſtipulating alſo for ſome privileges in favour of the people, which were to be given in charge to all future governors appointed by the crown, as part of their inſtructions. Upon this ſurrender, the government of Eaſt New Jerſey and Weſt New Jerſey was by the crown annexed to the government of New York, in which ſtate they continued till the year 1736, when the two Jerſies became one government. The number of inhabitants in this province is computed to be about 100,000.

The ſoil of this province is very uniform, good, and eaſy, natural to wheat and all kinds of Engliſh grain, abounding in every ſort of fruit common to the climate; and is ſaid to produce the beſt cyder of any on the continent. The timber is tall, and their oak is in good eſteem for ſhip-building. This province abounds in ſtreams of water, convenient for mills, furnaces, or any kind of water-works; and having

great quantities of iron ore, there are in it ſeveral furnaces and iron works, and one ſlitting mill, which are carried on to good advantage. It is likewiſe ſuppoſed to be rich in copper and ſilver ore.

There are no rivers of any note that extend far into this province; that called Paſſaick, which empties itſelf into the ſea at the northerly part of it, has about twenty miles from its mouth a remarkable fall or cataract, where the whole ſtream falls ſeventy foot from a rock whoſe face is perpendicular.

The lands in this province are chiefly taken up and improved, ſo that they have but little wild game of any kind: but what greatly obſtructs the growth of this province, is the great uncertainty of their titles, and the continual diſputes and law-ſuits which thence ariſe among the inhabitants; no men growing rich here ſo faſt as the gentlemen of the law. Beſide, this province ſuffers the ſame fate from Philadelphia and New York, that the colony of Connecticut does from New York and Boſton; having no conſiderable foreign trade of their own, they exchange their commodities at thoſe two places for foreign goods, and conſequently leave a profit there, which otherwiſe they might have themſelves.

The chief exports of this province are wheat, flour, timber, pig and bar iron, copper ore, and black cattle, which they drive in great numbers to Philadelphia; on whoſe rich paſtures they are generally grazed for ſome time, before they are killed for market.

The form of government here is the ſame as that of New York, and the religious perſuaſions are no leſs numerous, and much the ſame as in that province. Here is likewiſe a college founded at Prince-Town, about thirty miles from the city of Philadelphia, which is ſaid to be extremely well furniſhed and regulated.

The Province of PENSYLVANIA was by the Dutch eſteemed a part of their Nova Belgia, and was,

as

as ſuch, ſuppoſed to be included in the grant made by King Charles the Second to his brother James the Duke of York, in 1663, though it does not appear to have been particularly deſcribed in that grant. It is ſituated between 39 and 42 degrees of latitude, and 72 and 78 degrees weſt longitude; being bounded north-eaſterly by the Jerſeys, north by lands of the Five Nations, weſt by the Apalachian mountains, and ſoutherly by Maryland. In 1681, Mr. Penn obtained a patent from King Charles for the upper or inland part of this province; and afterward, from the Duke of York, he obtained a grant of the ſea-coaſts from the town of Delaware, now Newcaſtle, to Cape Henlopen. In the country, contained within this laſt grant, were many Swedes, Dutch, and Engliſh ſettled, who choſe to remain under a diſtinct juriſdiction of their own, but are under the ſame governor, and belong to the ſame proprietor. One of the fundamental regulations of this province is, "that none who believe in God Almighty, and live peaceable, ſhall be moleſted on account of their religious perſuaſion; or be compelled to frequent or ſupport any religious worſhip contrary to their declared ſentiments:" and, "that all perſons who profeſs to believe in Jeſus Chriſt, ſhall not be incapable of ſerving the government in any capacity on account of any peculiarities in their religious opinions; they ſolemnly promiſing, when required, allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and fidelity to the proprietor and governor of the province."

Soon after Mr. Penn had obtained his grant, he engaged and embarked with a conſiderable number of people to ſettle in this country, moſt of whom were Quakers, Mr. Penn himſelf being of that perſuaſion: but ſo upright was he in his proceedings, that although he had, by charter from the king, a right to a large extent of country, yet he would not pretend to take poſſeſſion, or make any diviſion of the lands among his followers, till he had fairly purchaſed the country

of the native Indians, in whom he judged the original property to be veſted. At the ſame time he engaged the ſeveral nations of Indians, inhabiting or claiming this territory, to promiſe that they would not ſell or diſpoſe of any of their lands, but to him, or ſuch as ſhould be authoriſed by him to purchaſe the ſame; giving orders to his agents not to take poſſeſſion, or ſuffer any perſon to take poſſeſſion of any lands, till they had firſt made a fair purchaſe of them from the Indians. This generous procedure of his not only recommended him ſtrongly to the natives, who conceived a very high opinion of his honour and integrity, but laid a foundation for a laſting peace with them. Mr. Penn continued in the country upward of two years, in which time he formed ſuch an excellent plan for the government of the province as hath ſince engaged more foreigners to reſide here than in any other part of America. He likewiſe laid the foundations of the city of Philadelphia, and formed the plan of it, which, for beauty, not only far excells any other in America, but is, perhaps, exceeded by few in the world. This city is ſituated between two navigable rivers, Delaware on the north, and the Schulkill on the ſouth, which join each other a few miles below, and is near 100 miles from the bay where the river empties itſelf. The ſtreets are wide and ſpacious, with a dry defended walk on each ſide, and are exactly ſtraight and parallel to each other: the houſes in general are well built, and make a good appearance, eſpecially ſome of the public buildings, which are not excelled by any in the country. The proprietor's ſeat, which is the uſual place of the governor's reſidence, and is about a mile above the town, exceeds any private building in America in magnificence and ſituation. There are in the city about four thouſand houſes, and about twenty thouſand inhabitants.

Other conſiderable places in this province are, Lancaſter, about ſixty or ſeventy miles from Philadelphia;

phia, on the road to Fort Du Queſne or Pittſburg, which is near as large as the city of New York; and about the ſame diſtance from Lancaſter. On the ſame road is Carliſle; and about twenty or twenty-five miles beyond it, is Shippeſburg. The number of inhabitants in the whole province of Penſylvania are upward of three hundred and fifty thouſand.

The moſt remarkable rivers in this province are the Delaware and the Suſquahanah; the firſt of theſe takes its riſe in the country of the Mohocks or Five Nations, and flows into the ſea at Delaware bay or Cape Henlopen. This river is navigable for near 150 miles up, after which it hath ſome falls in it; the ſettlements upon this river extend 150 miles from the city of Philadelphia. The lands adjacent to it are excellent, and ſcarce ever fail to reward the toil of the huſbandman in a plentiful manner. This river alſo affords great plenty and variety of ſuch fiſh as are common to the climate; eſpecially ſturgeon, which are here taken and manufactured in greater abundance than in any other part of America. The general courſe of this river is nearly ſouth-eaſt.

The Suſquahanah takes its riſe in the ſame country, at about 90 miles diſtance from the Apalachian mountains, and runs nearly parallel to it, till it empties itſelf into Cheſepeak bay in Maryland. This river is alſo navigable in the interior country a great way up, and, if poſſible, exceeds the other in pleaſantneſs and fertility of the ſoil adjacent to it; producing in great abundance all ſorts of grain common to the climate, eſpecially wheat. This province likewiſe manufactures the greateſt quantity of iron of any province on the continent. Its foreſts are as well ſtored with wild game, as its paſtures with flocks and herbs; in ſhort, no province on the continent is leſs dependent on its neighbours, or foreign countries, for either the neceſſaries or conveniencies and agreeables of life, than this. Its trade is extenſive, large, and valuable; no leſs than three hundred ſail annually

clearing out from Philadelphia to Europe, the Weſt Indies, &c. Their trade into the interior country, with the Indians, is likewiſe very extenſive and lucrative. The chief articles exported from this province, are wheat, flour, beer, pig and bar iron, hogſhead and pipe ſtaves, hoops, furs, peltry, beef, pork, flax-ſeed, &c.

This is a proprietary government, the proprietor being inveſted with a ſort of ſovereign authority: he appoints the magiſtrates, and the repreſentatives of the people are ſummoned in his name, and, by their advice, he enacts laws which are binding, without the approbation of king or parliament at home. But by a late ſtatute, the proprietor muſt have the king's approbation in appointing a governor, when he does not perſonally reſide in the province himſelf; and of a deputy governor when he does. And by another ſtatute, all the governors in America are liable to be called to an account for mal-adminiſtration before the court of king's bench in England.

MARYLAND is the next province to the ſouthward, being bounded on the north by Penſylvania and Delaware bay; on the eaſt, by the Atlantic ocean; by Virginia, ſouth; and by the Apalachian mountains, weſt; and is divided into the eaſtern and weſtern diviſions by the great bay of Cheſepeak.

This province was originally included in the grant made by King James the Firſt to the Southern Company, formed by charter, in 1606; but that grant being vacated, and falling to the crown, this territory was granted by King Charles the Firſt to Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic nobleman, who ſent out a number of people to begin the ſettlement of the country, among whom were ſeveral of the Romiſh perſuaſion: having obtained an indulgence of enjoying the free exerciſe of their religion in that country. His Lordſhip's brother embarked in November 1633, and took poſſeſſion of this country, having with him 200 ſettlers: the country, in honour to Queen Mary, conſort

ſort to King Charles, was called Maryland. As they prudently took care to cultivate a friendſhip and good correſpondence with the Indians, they thereby avoided the diſtreſſes which the neighbouring colony of Virginia had ſo often been reduced to; and in their infant ſtate they were greatly aſſiſted by them. At preſent, the property of but a ſmall part of the province is veſted in Lord Baltimore, he having conveyed great part to others.

There are no very conſiderable towns in this province; the reaſon of which is, that the plantations are almoſt all ſituated upon ſome navigable creek or river, with which the province abounds.

The principal rivers in this province are Potomack, Patuxent, Pokomoata, Chaptank, and Saſſafras river, with many others of ſmaller note, by which the province is cut and carved into various ſhapes; and has all the advantages of navigation and water-carriage that can be deſired. Places of moſt note in this province are Annapolis, eſteemed the capital, St. Mary's, Port Royal, &c.

The number of inhabitants in the province of Maryland is about 85,000 whites, and 25,000 negroes or ſlaves.

The air, ſoil, produce, and commerce of this province, being much the ſame as thoſe of Virginia; a deſcription of thoſe of the latter, will include thoſe of the former.

VIRGINIA was diſcovered by Sebaſtian Cabot, and was the firſt ſettled of any in America; for Sir Walter Raliegh, in 1584, obtained a grant from Queen Elizabeth, of all remote barbarous and heathen lands he ſhould diſcover and ſettle: when he, with Sir Richard Grenville, and ſeveral other gentlemen, at their own expence, fitted out two ſhips; which departing from London in April 1584, on the July following fell in with that part of America now called North Carolina. They were received and entertained by the natives in a friendly manner, with whom they

raded, and upon their return to Europe carried two of them to England. They at this time made no ſettlement in the country, but gave it the name of Virginia, in honour of the virgin Queen. Sir Richard Grenville himſelf embarked for Virginia the ſpring following, having ſeven ſhips under his direction, carrying with him, as an interpreter, one of thoſe Indians that had been brought to England the preceding year. But a diſpute ariſing between an Indian and one of Sir Richard's followers, they imprudently burnt the Indian town, deſtroyed their corn, and did them other conſiderable damages. This inconſiderate piece of revenge gave the Virginian Indians ſuch an ill impreſſion of the Engliſh, that the colony was continually haraſſed by them; until theſe Indians were themſelves ſet upon by the Mohock or Five Nations, who drove them out of the province, from whence they diſperſed to different Indian nations for protection; ſo that the very name of them is now loſt.

Virginia has a very extenſive territory, being ſituated between 36 and 39 degrees north latitude, and 74 and 80 degrees weſt longitude; indeed by their charter they have right to the whole country weſt and north-weſt to the South-ſea. It lies upon the great bay of Cheſepeak, formed by the two promontories called Cape Henry and Cape Charles; and is perhaps as fine an inland bay as any in the world, running up through Virginia and Maryland near due north 130 miles, and is navigable the whole way for large ſhips, being in moſt places twenty miles acroſs. This province has alſo four fine rivers flowing into the weſt-ſide of the bay, which take their riſe in the Apalachian mountains, running from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt; the ſouthernmoſt of theſe is James river, (called by the Indians Pawhatan) about two miles broad, and navigable at leaſt for fourſcore miles. The next is York river, (called by the Indians Pamunky) which is alſo navigable a great way up, and in ſome places comes very near the former. A little further north is the

the river Rappahanock, navigable a great way, and in ſome places comes within a few miles of York river. The northernmoſt is the great river Potomack, which is navigable quite to the falls, being accounted 200 miles, and is in many places nine miles over. Theſe four rivers or creeks, which flow into them, being navigable for ſmall craft, render this country the moſt commodious for water-carriage of any in America; for as moſt of the plantations are ſituated upon or very near theſe rivers, every planter has the conveniency of ſhipping his own goods, and receiving in return, ſuch neceſſaries as they ſtand in need of: hence it is, that many of the planters live upon their own eſtates, and have no occaſion to apply to merchants in any of the ſea-ports; and this is the reaſon that there are no conſiderable towns in this province. The town of moſt note in it is Williamſburg, to which the ſeat of government hath been transferred from James Town, on account of its being both a more commodious and healthy ſituation. This town is within land, between two navigable creeks running out of York and James rivers, by which means it hath an eaſy communication with both; and chiefly conſiſts of one ſtraight ſtreet, about a mile long from eaſt to weſt: at the weſt-end ſtands the college, and on the right hand of the ſtreet that leads to the college ſtands the governor's houſe, an elegant ſeat, built by the province for his reſidence; the court-houſe likewiſe, and other public buildings, are very ſpacious and elegant.

This whole country was called by the natives Savannas, or the Low Country, it being, for a great way from the ſea, one entire plain. The trees grow very lofty; nor is the ground incumbered with underwood, ſo as to hinder their being travelled through on horſeback, but afford a commodious ſhade to thoſe who paſs under them.

The heat and cold, both here and in Maryland, are governed by the winds; the north and north-weſt winds

winds are commonly cold and clear, the ſouth-eaſt moiſt, hazy, and very hot: in winter, the air is clear and dry; the froſts do not continue long, but are ſometimes very ſevere. The months of May and June are very pleaſant, July and Auguſt are generally exceſſive hot; and in September and October the rains fall, when the inhabitants, for the moſt part, become ſickly, being ſubject to agues, intermitting fevers, &c. The woods abound with great variety of flowers of ſweet-ſcented ſhrubs; here is the large tulip luarel, the bark of whoſe roots, in intermitting fevers, has been found to anſwer all the purpoſes of the famous Peruvian bark.

The chief exports from theſe provinces, beſide tobacco, are iron, beef, pork, pipe-ſtaves and other lumber. But all other commodities and productions of this country are ſwallowed up in that of tobacco, the importance of which trade to Great Britain will eaſily appear from the ſhipping employed: it being computed, that generally one year with another, 200 large ſhips are freighted with that commodity; and that 100,000 hogſheads are yearly exported, each weighing 400 weight. Out of this it is ſuppoſed, that 40,000 hogſheads are conſumed at home, and the other 60,000 exported from Great Britain to foreign markets.

The annual revenue ariſing to the crown from tobacco only, is very conſiderable; and ſeveral hundred thouſands are employed in, and ſupported by, raiſing and manufacturing it. There is alſo a conſiderable revenue ariſing to the crown, from a quit-rent paid annually by the owners of all lands granted by patent; from a duty on all paſſengers who come into the province, from a duty on liquors and ſlaves, and from fines and forfeitures.

The king of Great Britain has the appointment of the governor in this province, and in him and his council the ſupreme juriſdiction of civil affairs is lodged,

ed, who ſit twice a year for that purpoſe with the burgeſſes, or repreſentatives of the people.

The number of the inhabitants in this province is about 200,000 whites; and it is ſuppoſed there are half that number of negroes and ſlaves.

Eccleſiaſtical affairs are under the inſpection of a commiſſary, authoriſed by the biſhop London, who preſides over all the colonies in religious matters.

NORTH, and SOUTH CAROLINA; and GEORGIA: theſe are now three diſtinct governments, though originally but one. They extend from 30 to 36 degrees of north latitude, and from 75 to 86 degrees weſt longitude, being bounded on the north by Virginia, eaſt by the Atlantic Ocean, ſouth by St. John's River, and weſt by the Miſſiſippi.

This extenſive territory is a part of the diſcoveries made by the Cabots in 1497; but nothing having been done here in conſequence of their diſcovery, the Spaniards, in 1512, attempted a ſettlement on that part of the continent which they called Florida: but not ſucceeding, they abandoned the country, which lay neglected by the Europeans, till 1562, when Coligni, the famous French admiral, ſent out two ſhips, under the command of one monſieur Ribaut, to make a ſettlement on the coaſts of Florida. But the civil war breaking out in France ſoon after, he was under a neceſſity, for want of ſupplies, to abandon the ſettlement; and had he not met with an Engliſh ſhip, which furniſhed him with proviſions, he and his people would have, in all probability, periſhed by famine. Coligni, not diſheartened by this, fitted out ſix ſhips, under the command of monſieur Ribaut and one Laudoner, in 1564 and 1565, to reeſtabliſh the ſettlement, of which the Spaniards having received information, they ſent out a force to oppoſe him, and reduced the fort. The Spaniards left a garriſon in the fort, as if they intended to keep and enlarge their acquiſition, but being attacked by the French, commanded by one De Gorques, they were

drove

drove out of the country. De Gorques demoliſhing all the forts they had erected, and laid waſte their ſettlements, returned to France, and the civil war ſtill continuing, no further attempts were made towards a ſettlement in Carolina. This fine country lay unnoticed for almoſt a whole century, that is, till 1663, when our king Charles II. reſolved to aſſert his right to it; and to encourage the planting of a colony here, he granted it by patent, bearing date March 24, 1663, to eight proprietors. But what greatly contributed to the ſudden peopling of this colony, were ſome ſeverities uſed at home toward diſſenters, who, on that account, flocked here in great numbers; full toleration being here given to people of every profeſſion. By prudent regulations the colony was ſoon able to provide itſelf with moſt neceſſaries, and having met with no diſturbance from the natives, they were enabled to carry on two ſettlements at the ſame time, viz. one at the mouth of Ronoack River to the north, and another ſouthward, at the confluence of Aſhley and Cowper Rivers. This laſt town was, in honour to the then reigning king, called Charles-Town, which has ſince been the metropolis of South Carolina.

The natives gave no interruption to the planters for the firſt ten years, nor till their avarice and injuſtice excited them to it; for they ſet up the ſhameful trade of purchaſing of the Indians ſuch priſoners as they took in their wars with one another, and afterward ſold them as ſlaves, either to the Spaniards, or to our own planters in the Weſt India iſlands: at which the Indians were ſo exaſperated, that they took up the hatchet againſt them. However, ſuch was the courage and good conduct of Mr. Joſeph Weſt, their governor at that time, that no very ill conſequences followed upon this rupture; the Indians being ſoon reduced to terms of peace, and the colony reſted in quiet, till diſturbed by their own domeſtic jarrs and

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animoſities, which firſt aroſe on account of the quit-rents they were obliged to pay to the proprietors.

Theſe misfortunes threw the colony into ſuch confuſion, that, upon ſeven of the proprietors conſenting to ſell out, the crown agreed to give each of them for his eighth ſhare the ſum of 2500 l. and a further ſum of 5000 l. to be divided among them for the quit-rents that were then due; which agreement was confirmed by act of parliament, in 1728. But Lord Carteret, reſerved his eighth-part, both of the property and the quit-rents then in arrear, and all his rights, titles, privileges, as if no ſuch act had paſſed; and hath ſince had his eighth-part divided to him, which is about ſixty miles on the ſea-coaſts from north to ſouth, adjoining to Virginia, and from the Atlantic Ocean eaſt, to the South Sea weſt. As ſoon as the property and juriſdiction of this colony were thus veſted in the crown, it was divided into two diſtinct provinces, each of which have a governor, council, &c. the form of the government being much the ſame as is common to all king's governments on the continent. There is however this difference in the two governments, namely, that North Carolina is divided into counties, each of which have a ſheriff and court of juſtice; but in South Carolina, they have an officer, called the Provoſt-marſhal, who acts as ſheriff of the whole province: and all courts of juſtice, excepting thoſe of ſingle juſtices of the peace, are held at Charles Town. Theſe regulations are attended with inconveniencies greatly complained of, as increaſing the expence of law-ſuits to the parties, and often rendering the attendance of jurymen and witneſſes very difficult.

NORTH CAROLINA is ſituated upon the ſea-coaſts about three hundred miles, and is bounded eaſt by the Atlantic Ocean, north by Virginia, weſt by the Apalachian Hills, and ſouth by South Carolina. The coaſts of this province are extremely broken by bays, creeks and rivers; in the openings of which are many bars

and ſhoals, which render the navigation difficult to ſtrangers: there are, however, ſeveral ſafe and good harbours, and rivers navigable far into the country. The principal are Ronoak or Albemarle River, Neuſe River, and Cape Fear or Clarendon River; upon which are ſituated the principal towns in the province; viz. Wilmington, on Cape Fear; Neuborn, on the Neuſe; and Edenton, on Albemarle: at which three places their general court or aſſembly for enacting laws ſit alternately. The number of the inhabitants in the whole province are computed to be about 70,000 whites, and 20,000 negroes. The country, for near an hundred miles from the ſea, is flat, level and ſandy; the ſoil ſhallow and lean, being covered over with pitch and yellow pines: from which they manufacture prodigious quantities of tar, pitch, and turpentine. In this laborious and dirty buſineſs, their droves of negroes are employed round the year. This ſoil will ſcarce produce any thing but Indian corn, and not even that to any perfection without ſome kind of manure. About an hundred miles in the country the land riſes gradually to the Apalachian mountains, where the ſoil in ſome places is very good, and produces plenty of wheat and other grain; the timber being oak, intermixed with pine: they alſo here raiſe hemp and flax, and have ſome fruit.

The greateſt number of inhabitants are in this weſterly part of the province, as the ſoil here is the moſt fruitful and pleaſant. There ſtill remain ſome Indian towns in this province: part of the nation called the Tuſkararas, in the middle part; and the Cotawpees, in the ſouthern, near the bounds of South Carolina. But they have met with very little diſturbance from the Indians ſince they were made a king's government, till the late war with the Cherokees, in which their frontiers have ſuffered, with thoſe of their neighbours. The principal exports from this province are great quantities of pitch, tar and turpentine, to Europe, and the neighbouring provinces to

the northward; pork, beef, and corn, to the Weſt Indies; droves of live cattle to Virginia; by which way they generally export their northern produce of tobacco.

The bounds of SOUTH CAROLINA are much reduced from their original extent; Georgia being taken off to the ſouthward, as far as the river Savanna, which runs in a curve round the ſouth and weſt part of this province, out of North Carolina. The extent of the province upon the Atlantic Ocean to the eaſt is upwards of 100 miles, and weſt from the ſea upward of 200 miles, to where Georgia and North Carolina meet. The face of this country, for ſixty or ſeventy miles from the ſea, is like that of North Carolina, low and level; then it gradually riſes into hills. But the ſoil is vaſtly different, and infinitely better; and may be divided into pine-land, oak-land, ſwamps, and marſhes. The pine-land is by far of the greateſt extent; and is a dry whitiſh ſoil, naturally producing a great variety of ſhrubs, and a coarſe kind of graſs, not very agreeable to cattle, unleſs in the meadows, or ſavanna. Peaches grow here in great abundance; and the white mulberry-tree, which is the food of ſilk-worms. The oak-land commonly lies in narrow ſlips between pine-land, and ſwamps, creeks, or rivers. This ſoil is a blackiſh ſand, producing ſeveral kinds of oak, bay, aſh, laurel, &c.

This province abounds with cattle and ſwine, even beyond North Carolina; and its foreſts are ſtored with deer, beyond any of its neighbours, and many other kinds of wild game: in ſhort, this is a very rich and fertile province, and is peopled by many wealthy inhabitants, who live in great eaſe and ſplendor. The ſtaple commodities are rice and indigo. It is alſo found that the weſterly part of this province produces wheat to great perfection, which no doubt will now be improved in that way, being freed from the fear of thoſe ſavages who lately infeſted their frontiers. They alſo raiſe flax; which, as their numbers

bers increaſe, may likewiſe become a very conſiderable article to the province. Its navigation is eaſy and ſafe upon the rivers Podee, Santee, and Savannah: from its different ports annually ſail upward of three hundred veſſels laden with the produce of the country; among which may be reckoned deer-ſkins, as no inconſiderable article; the deer being ſo plenty, that the back-inhabitants ſcarce need any other meat: and there is no doubt but that laborious animal the ſilk-worm may be employed here to great advantage, here being his natural food in great plenty. Some attempts that way have been made with good ſucceſs. But, notwithſtanding theſe delightful and inviting circumſtances of this country, it has alſo its diſagreeables; the air or climate is not ſo pleaſant and healthy as could be wiſhed for. The winters are ſhort, and the ſpring delightful; but from May to September, and ſometimes longer, it is exceſſively hot, with a thick ſultry air in the forepart of the day, which thoſe who are not uſed to it can ſcarcely breathe in. When the ſun breaks out, it is with the moſt intenſe heat. The moſt ſharp and heavy thunder and lightning frequently happen here; and the very ſudden alterations in the weather render the ſummer-ſeaſon very unhealthy for ſtrangers, and ſubject the inhabitants and natives themſelves to fevers, dyſenteries, and various diſtempers: add to all theſe the myriads of moſquitoes, which are enough to devour one during the ſummer-ſeaſon.

Charles-Town, the metropolis of this province, is ſituated between two navigable rivers; Aſhley on the weſt and ſouth, and Cowper river on the eaſt. The ſtreets are wide and ſtraight, interſecting each other at right angles; thoſe running eaſt and weſt extend from one river to the other about a mile. The number of the inhabitants in the whole province is about 60,000 whites, and more than double the number of blacks.

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The Province of GEORGIA, is about a hundred miles wide upon the ſea, by which it is bounded eaſtward; ſoutherly, by Eaſt Florida; weſterly, by the low-lands of the Creeks, and partly by the ſouth-end of the Apalachian mountains; and northerly, by the river Savanna, which divides it from South Carolina. There are alſo ſeveral ſmall but very fruitful iſlands included in this province, which lie off at a ſmall diſtance from the continent.

This country was divided from South Carolina, and a ſettlement begun here, in 1732, in conſequence of a repreſentation made to his late majeſty by ſome generous and compaſſionate noblemen and gentlemen, in behalf of diſtreſſed impriſoned debtors, the number of which at that time was very great in England. A charitable ſubſcription was ſet on foot for collecting benefactions; which ſucceeded ſo well that they were enabled to relieve and ſend out one hundred perſons, provided with all manner of neceſſaries. Lieutenant colonel Oglethorpe, a truly zealous promoter of the deſign, was appointed to have the conduct and management of the intended ſettlement; which he began upon the river Savanna, about ten miles up, laying the foundation of the preſent town of Savanna.

This gentleman prudently cultivated a friendſhip with the neighbouring Indians, who not only ſuffered them peaceably and quietly to go on with their ſettlement, but often ſupplied them with proviſions.

By the wiſe, prudent and generous conduct of Mr. Oglethorpe, and others, this province continued to flouriſh and increaſe: the friendſhip of the Indians being ſecured, nothing material happened till 1752, when the truſtees ſurrendered their charter to the crown; ſince which the governor is appointed by his Britannic majeſty, and the form of government the ſame that is common to all the king's governments.

The ſoil, air, and produce of this province much reſemble thoſe of South Carolina: rice is ſaid to

grow better here than in Carolina, which with corn and indigo may be eſteemed at preſent its principal commodities. They have made ſome beginnings toward cultivating vines, and the raiſing of raw ſilk; both which branches, if attended to, may hereafter become conſiderable; the climate and ſoil being very ſuitable for them.

What has been ſaid of the heat, unhealthineſs, thunder and lightning at Carolina, may with the utmoſt propriety be ſaid of them here, Georgia lying ſtill more to the ſouthward: and this province, if poſſible, is more ſeverely infeſted than South Carolina, with all manner of venomous and poiſonous animals; from allegators of twelve feet long, to mites ſcarcely diſcernible by the eye; the allegators keep in freſh water rivers, and the Savanna abounds with them.

The principal towns in Georgia are, Savanna and Frederica. The former is the metropolis, and is very pleaſantly ſituated; but is remarkable for nothing ſo much as the famous orphan-houſe, founded by Mr. Whitefield: yet neither this houſe, nor the charity, learning, and regulations of it, are any way equal to the tumult and noiſe that have been made in the world about them. The number of inhabitants in Georgia is about 8000 whites, and 20,000 blacks.

FLORIDA lies ſouth of Georgia, and between that and the Miſſiſippi river, for an extent of about 600 miles. It is now divided into two provinces, viz. Eaſt and Weſt Florida.

EAST FLORIDA is bounded north by Georgia, or St. John's River, which divides them; eaſtwardly and ſouthwardly, by the gulph of Florida; ſouthweſt, by Weſt Florida; and the north-weſt, by the country of the Creek Indians.

The whole territory of Florida was ceded by the Spaniards to the crown of Great Britain, by the treaty of Verſailles, in 1762. His Britannic majeſty being

ing abſolute ſovereign of the ſoil, has the appointment of the governors in both of the Floridas.

The ſoil of Eaſt Florida is not ſo good as that of Georgia in general; but the northerly part of it adjacent to Georgia is much like it, and may be improved to the ſame purpoſes.

The center or Cape of Florida is a more ſandy ſoil; however, there are ſome good ſettlements begun in this province, under the direction of colonel Grant, the preſent governor of it: and there is a proſpect of its ſoon becoming a flouriſhing province, as inhabitants are flocking to it from ſeveral countries in Europe.

Their exports at preſent are but ſmall, the produce of their trade with the Indians being the chief they have to ſpare. As the country was three years ſince almoſt entirely uncultivated, and the number of the inhabitants as yet but ſmall, no great improvements and productions are at preſent to be expected. The metropolis of the province is St. Auguſtine; and the number of inhabitants, excluſive of his majeſty's troops garriſoned there, is, about 2000.

It may well be ſuppoſed, from its ſoutherly ſituation, that the air and climate of this province is not more agreeable and healthy than that of Georgia; and that it is no leſs infeſted with poiſonous and troubleſome animals of various ſhapes and ſizes.

WEST FLORIDA was ſeized upon by the French, who began a ſettlement in it at Penſacola, in 1720, and they enjoyed it till the before mentioned treaty of 1762; when this was ceded to and formed into a government by his Britannic majeſty. It is bounded, eaſtwardly, by Eaſt Florida; ſouthwardly, by the Gulph of Mexico; weſtwardly, by the Miſſiſippi river, and the lake of St. Pier; and northwardly by the country of the Chikitaws.

The principal town is Penſacola; and as many of the French, who inhabited here before the treaty, have choſe to become Britiſh ſubjects for the ſake of keep-

ing their eſtates, this will contribute to the ſpeedy peopling this province; eſpecially as the land in this province is vaſtly preferable to the eaſtern province, its ſoil being capable of producing all the valuable commodities of rice, indigo, wine, oil, &c. in the greateſt abundance. Its ſituation for trade is extremely good, having the river Miſſiſippi for its weſtern boundary.

They already carry on a very conſiderable trade with the Indians, and export great quantities of deerſkins and furs. The French inhabitants here raiſe conſiderable quantities of rice, and build ſome veſſels.

There are at preſent about 6000 inhabitants in this province, which increaſe very faſt, it being much more healthy and inviting than Eaſt Florida; eſpecially the weſtern parts upon the banks of the Miſſiſippi, where it is ſaid to be agreeable enough to Engliſh conſtitutions.

TO what Mr. Rogers has ſaid concerning Florida, may be added the ſentiments of another ingenious writer, who appears to be well informed with regard to this country.

" If, ſays he, we take a view of America, or even of the globe of the earth, we ſhall find the northern, even the temperate climates, which are moſt agreeable to live in, are the leaſt adapted to the purpoſes of trade with Europe; where the climate being of the ſame nature, of courſe yields nearly the ſame productions. We ſhall ſee this illuſtrated, by comparing the produce of the two ſmall iſlands of St. Chriſtopher, and Rhode-Iſland, both of them well ſettled, and well cultivated; both fertile, and almoſt of the ſame ſize; the principal difference betwixt them conſiſting in this, that the former is ſituated in lat. 17°. and the latter in 41°. let an eſtimate be made of the annual exports of each; and by comparing them together we diſcover at once the difference that is made by climate only: the exports of the former are of great *value*, and of the latter of very little.

" Upon

" Upon the continent itſelf we cannot but be ſenſible that the ſouthern colonies, though the lateſt ſettled, and therefore the fartheſt from the beſt ſtate of cultivation, yield more valuable articles of trade than the northern colonies; and (the number of inhabitants conſidered) greatly ſurpaſs them in the amount of their exports.

" The colony of Georgia, which from being a barrier province, and other circumſtances, had, when firſt ſettled, many diſadvantages to ſtruggle with; yet the rapid increaſe, which it has lately made in its exports, affords ſufficient proofs that its climate is perfectly adapted to the purpoſes, both for European and American commerce; and fit for rice, ſilk, and indigo; which, ſugar excepted, conſtitute the moſt valuable articles of trade. In New England, to ſay nothing of Canada and Nova Scotia, where the winters are ſtill more ſevere, the earth is covered with ſnow at leaſt three months in the year; the rigour of the climate puts an end to all vegetation; the beaſts of the field require to be ſheltered from the inclemencies of the weather, and to be ſuſtained with fodder, laid by in ſummer: even the laborious hand of induſtry is in this ſeaſon of the year deſtitute of all uſeful employment.

" During the ſame period, the vegetation in Carolina and Georgia affords ſufficient food for cattle; no ſhelter is required for them; the lakes and rivers are not frozen, and the garden vegetables contribute greatly to make a plenty of ſuſtenance.

" If we carry the eye along to the eaſtern coaſt of North America, from Hudſon's bay down to the iſland of Cuba; which lies a little to the ſouth of the Cape of Florida; as we draw nearer the ſun, the ſouthern commercial productions generally become better, and of more intrinſic worth. It is not only in ſugar and Indigo, that Cuba ſurpaſſes all the Engliſh ſettlements, lying upon the continent, but in all other productions, that depend principally upon the power

of the ſun. And in this reſpect, Eaſt Florida hath the advantage of Carolina and Georgia, as much as Cuba has the advantage of Eaſt Florida.

" In order to judge of the produce to be expected from a freſh ſoil, well ſupplied with navigable rivers, in the climate of Eaſt Florida; let us conſider the reſt of the globe, lying in the ſame latitude, and we find Egypt, Arabia Felix, Perſia, India, China, and Japan; of which China is the only country, that has a tolerable government: yet it muſt be acknowledged, that all of them are, or have been, famous for their riches and fertility. When we ſpeak, as it were, proverbially, of the riches of the eaſt, we can allude to no other countries than thoſe that have been mentioned.

" As to the ſituation of Florida, in reſpect of the Spaniſh trade, it need only to be obſerved, that the Spaniards are too lazy to ſupply themſelves even with neceſſaries: that the Havannah, one of their richeſt ports, is only a few days ſail from St. Auguſtine, and of courſe, is much nearer to the capes of Florida, which lie directly oppoſite to that celebrated harbour. The trade winds, which perpetually blow within the tropics, from eaſt to weſt, render the communication betwixt the Havannah and St. Auguſtine always eaſy, as they lie, in reſpect to each other, north and ſouth.

" As to the ſituation of Florida, with a view to ſurprize the Spaniſh ſhips in the time of war, the trade winds oblige the regiſter ſhips and galleons from Carthagena, Porto Bello, and Vera Cruz, the rich cargoes whereof are very well known, to return to Europe through the gulph of Florida, and to call at the port of the Havannah, in their way to Old Spain. The ſtrong current that conſtantly runs from the eaſt, between the Bahama iſlands and Cuba, right into the gulph of Mexico, as well as the trade winds, which blow from the ſame quarter, greatly embaraſs ſhips coming from the weſtward to the port of the Havannah; and expoſe them very much to the deſigns of an enemy.

enemy. When veſſels, in their way to Europe, double the capes of Florida, they are under a neceſſity of keeping near to the ſhore, in order to take the benefit of the eddies and land breezes. When they have got round the capes, and fall in the ſtream of the gulph of Florida, they are carried forcibly to the northward by the ſtrength of that noted current. A few ſhips of force may eaſily take every loaded veſſel on its way through this confined ſtrait, which is about 50 miles wide, and ſomewhat more than 200 miles long; and affords to ſhips paſſing through it but little choice in the line of their navigation.

"It is eaſy to diſcern the utility of a fortified harbour near the capes; it would contribute not a little to ſecure the command of the gulph of Mexico, as well as Florida: the importance whereof, need not be enlarged upon.

"Its climate and produce, as well as its ſituation, which, with reſpect to the Spaniſh dominions, is of great moment, will one day render it a very important colony to Great Britain; yet, the town of St. Auguſtine excepted, this country is at preſent, for want of inhabitants, little better than a deſart."

We return now to Mr. Rogers.

The INTERIOR COUNTRY.

The Indians on the continent of North America are moſtly retired from the ſea-coaſts into the interior or weſterly parts of the country, few of them being to be found within leſs than two or three hundred miles of the ſea: for though many of them have been in ſome meaſure civiliſed, and parcels of lands have been allotted them in ſeveral of the Britiſh colonies, where they have been formed into ſocieties; yet it is obſervable, that, in proportion as they conform to our methods of living, they dwindle away; either becauſe theſe methods are diſagreeable and noxious to their conſtitutions, or elſe, that when ſettled among the Engliſh, they have greater opportunities of procuring ſpirituous liquors, of which they

are generally inordinately fond. Thoſe who ſtill remain have moſtly joined themſelves to other nations in the interior country, who have generally erected their towns upon the banks of lakes and rivers, where they enjoy coaſts of their own; to all their purpoſes, as effectually as if they poſſeſſed the eaſtern ſhore of the continent.

The principal rivers in North America are, St. Lawrence, communicating with the ſea at the gulph of St. Lawrence; the Miſſiſippi, which flows into the Gulph of Mexico; and the Chriſtino, which diſcharges itſelf into Hudſon's Bay. There are great numbers of ſmaller note, that join theſe in their courſe from the heights of the country to the ſea.

The River St. LAWRENCE takes its riſe upward of two thouſand miles from its mouth, at a lake called by the Indians Nippiſſong, (which in their language ſignifies a large body of water) ſituate north-weſt from Lake Superior, in latitude of 52 degrees north. The northerly bank of this lake is a bog, or moraſs, near four hundred miles long from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, and about one hundred and fifty miles broad. North of this bog is a ridge of mountains, extending from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, the whole length of the marſhy country, and beyond it to the weſtward. Theſe mountains are very high and ſteep, and are called by the Indians the Head of the Country, meaning thereby that they are ſituated in the centre, and are the higheſt land on the continent of North America; which indeed ſeems to be the caſe: for, ſouth-eaſt of theſe riſes the river St. Lawrence, having its courſe from thence north-eaſterly; north-eaſt riſes the river Chriſtino, and runs north-eaſterly; and from the ſouth, and ſouth-weſt of theſe mountains, riſes the Miſſiſippi, which runs ſoutherly: ſo that by theſe rivers the continent is divided into ſo many departments, as it were, from a center, which is the before-mentioned mountains.

The

The Indians who inhabit round Lake Nippiſſong, the head of the river St. Lawrence, are called Lake Indians or Nippiſſongs, and are in number about five or ſix thouſand men. Their country is of conſiderable extent, but of very difficult acceſs; on which account they have but very little commerce with the Engliſh or French. They have no fire-arms, but hunt with bows and arrows. They have little or no war or connections with any other tribe of Indians, but live almoſt as independent as if they had a whole world to themſelves. They ſometimes go through the Chriſtinaux country to Hudſon's Bay, and purchaſe ſome cloathing from the company; but their chief cloathing is the produce of their country, the ſkins of beaſts. They never ſhave or cut the hair from their heads or any part of their bodies; on which account the other Indians eſteem them a very ſavage and unpolite herd, and do not chuſe any correſpondence or connections with a people ſo rude and uncultivated. They never pretend to plant or improve the land by labour.

From hence the river St. Lawrence runs through a rough, broken, uninhabited country, to Lake Superior; having in its courſe ſeveral falls or cataracts. Below theſe falls is great plenty of fiſh, eſpecially trout, which is very large and good. At the entrance of the river into the lake is a town of Indians, called the Souties or Attawawas; which nation inhabit all along at the mouths of the rivers that fall into Lake Superior, and on the north of the Lakes Mechigan and Huron. They can raiſe about 12,000 fighting men. Theſe Indians are more improved than the Nippiſſongs, having had conſiderable commerce with the French. They live in huts, built in the form of cones; and generally change their habitations in ſpring and autumn, ſpending the ſummer-ſeaſon upon the banks of the rivers and lakes, where they fiſh and raiſe corn; and the winter among the mountains, ſometimes two or three hundred miles diſtant,

diſtant, for the ſake of better hunting: and the food you meet with among them, is according to the ſeaſon in which you viſit them. They, as yet, make but very little uſe of ſpirituous liquors, nor do they manufacture any kind of drink, except the juice of the maple-tree, of which they likewiſe make ſugar. And although there is private property among them, which they transfer to one another, by way of bargain and exchange; yet no individual or family is allowed to ſuffer by poverty, ſickneſs, or any misfortunes, while their neighbours can ſupply their wants: and all this from the ſimple natural conſideration, that they and their families are liable to the ſame unhappy circumſtances they ſee their friends in.

At the north of Lake Superior there is another tribe or diviſion of theſe Indians, who call themſelves the Bulls: theſe inhabit round the bay, called by the French Merduouſt, or the North Bay. They differ not much from the Souties in their manners; and can raiſe about four thouſand fighting men. The chief trade of theſe northern Indians is to Hudſon's Bay, where they carry fur and ermine in great abundance.

LAKE SUPERIOR, is upward of two thouſand miles in circumference, and very deep, excepting near the weſt end, where are ſeveral iſlands; and near where the river joins it is a large iſland, ſeparated from the main by a ſtrait of not more than five or ſix miles wide. The ſoil of this iſland is very good, and on it are ſeveral Indian towns. The banks to the north, ſouth, and eaſt are very high and ſteep in ſome places, being more than two hundred feet above the ſurface of the water, and almoſt perpendicular; ſo that it is very difficult landing at any place, except where the river falls in. There are ſome good iſlands in the north-bay of this lake, of forty or fifty miles in length from north to ſouth; but not near ſo wide.

The Indians in this territory certainly enjoy in the greateſt plenty what they look upon to be the neceſſaries, and even the luxuries of life. Here are fiſh,

fiſh, fowl, and beaſts of every ſize and kind, common to the climate, in the greateſt abundance. It has rivers, it has a ſea of its own, which make great amends for its inland ſituation, by facilitating trade and commerce from one part of the country to another, by a cheap and eaſy conveyance; nor do the Indians entirely neglect this advantage, but make great uſe of canoes on the rivers and lakes: which veſſels they make of the bark of birch, ſpruce, or elm.

The river St. Lawrence flows from Lake Superior to Lake Huron, upwards of one hundred and fifty miles, and joins it about twenty miles eaſt of the Straits of Michlimakana. The ſtream here is generally very rapid, and has one conſiderable fall, round which the Indians are obliged to carry their canoes when they paſs this way. The land adjacent to the river between the two lakes is broken and hilly; but much of it is capable of being improved to good advantage. The timber is thick and lofty; iron ore is here found in the greateſt plenty, and is ſaid to be the beſt in America; and here are ſtreams ſufficient for any kind of water-works.

LAKE HURON is of a triangular form; one of the extremities pointing to the north-eaſt, where a conſiderable ſtream flows into it, called the Souties River; from which there is but a ſhort carrying-place to the Attawawas River, that joins St. Lawrence River near Montreal. Another extremity points to the north-weſt, at the Straits of Michlimakana; the other to the ſouth, where the river St. Lawrence iſſues out as from the point of a heart.

This Lake is about 900 miles in circumference: the country on the north and north-weſt of it is rocky and mountainous; on the ſouth-eaſt the land is low, and covered with tall timber, ſuch as white-pine, oak, walnut, aſh, maple, &c. On the ſouth-weſt, between Lake Huron and the Lake Mechigan, the country is level

level and plain, having very few trees upon it of any kind; the ſoil is tolerably good.

This wide extended plain is covered with tall graſs, among which are deer, elks, bears, rackoons, &c. in great plenty; and indeed every thing in general is to be found in this part of the country that is neceſſary to ſupply the natural wants of the human ſpecies. The number of Indians that inhabit round Lake Huron is about 3000, 600 of which are warriors, or fighting men.

LAKE MECHIGAN is ſituated weſt from Lake Huron, and is much of the ſame form, excepting that it is longer, extending farther to the ſouth. There is a communication between the two lakes, by a ſtreight called the Streight of Michlimakana; which is fifteen miles wide, and forty in length, running nearly eaſt from the north of Lake Mechigan.

On the north end of Lake Mechigan are ſeveral towns of Indians. At the ſouth extremity the river St. Joſeph flows into it, about 300 miles weſt of Detroit. The country between the two lakes is level, and generally of an excellent ſoil; the timber lofty and fair. It is well watered by a variety of ſtreams, running ſome into one lake, and ſome into the other. At the point adjoining Lake Mechigan, and for five or ſix miles from it, ſouth, the land is ſandy. Here ſtands our fort Michlimakana, a good ſtockade, near twenty feet high. There are, at this place, ſome French inhabitants, who come here for the ſake of trading with the Indians, and for the trout-fiſhery, which is here very valuable: the trout in theſe ſtreights being very plentiful, and of an extraordinary ſize.

The Indians round Lake Mechigan amount to about 4000 fighting men.

On the north-weſt part of Lake Mechigan enters another ſtreight from the Green Bay. This ſtreight is about 40 miles wide, and 100 long, and in it are many iſlands variouſly ſituated; ſome of which are inhabited

inhabited by the Pottawatamies, and others by the Attawawas.

The GREEN BAY is of conſiderable extent. Into the north end of it flows a large river, that riſes between Lake Superior and the Miſſiſippi, which is called the river of Foxes; on which live a nation of Indians, called the Fox Indians, whoſe number is not leſs than 4 or 5000 men: and farther ſouthward, the country is inhabited by the Kekabouze, whoſe number is about 500 men.

The wide extended country upon this river, the Green Bay, and the ſtraits from thence to Lake Mechigan, is uniformly pleaſant; the ſoil good and fertile, and wants nothing but civiliſed induſtrious inhabitants to render it truly delightful. The winters are never ſevere; and great part of the year the country wears a verdure. Here likewiſe grow ſpontaneouſly a great variety of grapes, which are agreeable enough to the palate, and doubtleſs might be manufactured to great advantage. The Indians, who have learned, that the juice of theſe grapes will make glad the heart of man, make from them a kind of rough claret: but their want of knowledge how to manage it properly, no doubt, renders it vaſtly inferior to what it might be made. They depoſite this liquor in their empty rum-kegs.

From this ſhort account of the Lakes Huron and Mechigan, the Green Bay, and the adjacent country, which is no ways exaggerated, nor even up to what will be found true of its beauty and fertility; it muſt appear to be a very valuable territory, capable of rich improvements; and that the promoting a ſpeedy ſettlement in it, and ſecuring its advantageous poſts, are even of national importance. The French were ſo ſenſible of this, that they had advanced poſts at the river St. Joſeph, at the Green Bay, and at the Falls of St. Marie, at the time when Canada was ceded to the crown of Great Britain; all which have been ſince deſtroyed by the Indians: and the only poſt we now

have in this part of the country, is at Michlimakana, which is garriſoned with 100 men.

From the ſouth point of Lake Huron, the river St. Lawrence runs eaſterly, inclining to the ſouth for about eighty miles; where it flows into Lake Erie in its paſſing through Lake Sinclair, which is about twenty-five miles above Lake Erie. The river at Lake Huron is about 500 yards wide; but much wider before it reaches the other lake, there being ſeveral ſtreams which join it on each ſide. Where it enters Lake Sinclair, it is divided into ſeveral branches, by which are formed five or ſix iſlands of various dimenſions.

LAKE SINCLAIR is nearly circular, and is about eighteen miles acroſs. On the eaſt-ſide are large marſhes of eight or ten miles extent from the water; and near the lower end, on the eaſt-ſide, a river enters it of a conſiderable bigneſs; from which, by a ſhort carrying-place, is an eaſy conveyance to Lake Ontario, uſed by the Indians who inhabit the banks of this river, who are a branch of the Souties or Attawawas. The land on the weſt ſide of the lake is alſo tolerably good, the timber chiefly beech and maple.

At the ſouth-ſide of the lake, where the river St. Lawrence leaves it, it ſuddenly divides into two branches, forming thereby an iſland of conſiderable extent, ſituated near the center of it, and from thence keeps ſouthwardly to Lake Erie; the land on each ſide of the river is level, good and fertile. On the eaſtward ſide of the river, a little below Lake Sinclair, is the town of the Attawawas; and farther down toward Lake Erie, on the ſame ſide, is a town of Hurons; the river between theſe two lakes is near 800 yards wide: on the weſt-ſide, below the before-mentioned bay, is the fort of Detroit. The French inhabitants here are ſettled on both ſides of the river for about eight miles. Soon after the ſurrender of Canada, they were about 2500 in number; there being near 500 that bore arms, and near 300 dwelling-houſes.

houſes. Our fort here, built of Stockadoes, is about twenty-five feet high, and 1200 yards in circumference: the ſituation of this place is pleaſant, and the land very good.

LAKE ERIE is 300 miles in length, from the ſouth-weſt to the north-eaſt, eighty or ninety miles wide at the weſterly end, and about forty at the lower end, where it tapers off to ſeven or eight miles, before the river leaves it. At the ſouth-weſt corner of Lake Erie, the Lake Sanduſky communicates with it, by a ſtrait of half a mile wide.

LAKE SANDUSKY is thirty miles in length, and eight or ten miles wide. Into the ſouth-weſt corner of this lake the river Sanduſky, or Huron, flows. Upon the banks of this river, and round the Lake Sanduſky, the Huron Indians are ſettled in ſeveral different towns, in a very pleaſant fertile country. This nation of Indians can raiſe about 6 or 700 fighting men. They differ ſomething in their manners from any yet mentioned. They build regular framed houſes, and cover them with bark; theſe are eſteemed the richeſt Indians upon the whole continent, having not only horſes in great abundance, but ſome black cattle and ſwine. They raiſe great quantities of corn, not only for their own uſe, but ſupply ſeveral other tribes, who purchaſe this article from them.

The country on the ſouth-ſide of Lake Erie is claimed by the Five-Nation Indians, but not inhabited by them; they keep it for the ſake of hunting. This alſo is a fine level country toward the ſouth, from the lake, for ſeveral miles; having many ſtreams flowing through it into the lake, from the high lands between this and the Ohio. Our fort at Preſque Iſle is upon this ſide of the lake, about 100 miles from the eaſt-end. From this fort is a carrying-place of about twelve or fourteen miles to the French Creek, a branch of the Ohio.

From the eaſt-end of Lake Erie, the river St. Lawrence runs north-eaſterly, inclining to the north, about fifty miles, to Lake Ontario. Nearly oppoſite to where it iſſues out of the lake, is a new fort, erected on the northerly ſide, called Fort Erie. Soon after the river forms itſelf, the current is rapid, on account of the rocks and falls in it, for about a mile; over which, notwithſtanding, we work up veſſels by the help of windlaſſes. A little below theſe ripples are ſeveral ſmall iſlands, and at about ſix or ſeven miles diſtance the river is divided into two branches, by the ſouth-weſt end of the Great Iſland, which extends almoſt down to Little Niagara Fort, and contains no leſs than 40,000 acres of land, which is very good. The country on both ſides of the river to Little Niagara appears to be good and fruitful, and is wholly uninhabited.

Little Niagara Fort is nothing more than a ſtockade, and is about two miles diſtant from the eaſterly end of the Great Iſland, on the eaſt-ſide of the river.

Near this fort is a remarkable fall, or cataract, in the river, which deſerves a particular deſcription. This cataract is called the Falls of Niagara, which, in the language of the Five Nations, ſignifies a fall of water. The courſe of the river here is ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, and about half a mile wide, where the rock croſſes it, not in a direct line, but in the form of an half-moon. Above the fall is an iſland of about half a mile in length; the lower end of which comes to the edge of the fall. The current of the river above the iſland is quite ſlow; but as it approaches the iſland, and is divided by it, it runs more ſwiftly; and, before it comes to the fall, with ſuch violence, as often throws the water to a conſiderable height, eſpecially on the weſt-ſide of the iſland, the whole ſtream appearing in a foam; for even here the deſcent is equal to the ſide of a pretty ſteep hill. When it

comes

comes to the perpendicular fall, which is an hundred and fifty feet, no words can expreſs the conſternation of travellers at firſt view, ſeeing ſo great a body of water falling, or rather violently thrown, from ſo great an height, upon the rocks below; from which it again rebounds to a very great height, appearing white as ſnow, being all converted into foam, through thoſe repeated violent agitations. The noiſe of this fall is often heard at the diſtance of fifteen miles, and ſometimes much farther. The vapour ariſing from the fall may ſometimes be ſeen at a great diſtance, appearing like a cloud, or pillar of ſmoak; and in it the appearance of a rainbow, whenever the ſun and the poſition of the traveller favours. Many beaſts and fowls here loſe their lives, by attempting to ſwim or croſs the ſtream in the rapids, and are found daſhed in pieces below; and ſometimes the Indians have met with the like fate, through careleſſneſs or drunkenneſs. There are ſmaller falls in the river for ſeveral miles below, which renders it unnavigable. The bank of the river, on the eaſt-ſide from the fall downward, is 300 feet high, till you come to another fort of ours, diſtant from Little Niagara nine miles; and this length they are obliged to carry by land, on account of the rapidity above and below the cataract. The land on the other ſide riſes gradually; and perhaps no place in the world is frequented by ſuch a number of eagles as this, invited hither by the carnage before mentioned, that is here made of deer, elks, bears, &c. on which they feed. The land on the weſt-ſide of the river St. Lawrence, from this fort, or landing place, to Lake Ontario, is owned by the Miſſiſſaugaus, and is tolerably good. The timber is chiefly cheſnut. The eaſterly ſide is owned by the Five Nations, and is thinly timbered with lofty oaks; which, at firſt view, one would be apt to think, were artificially tranſpoſed. The river enters Lake Ontario at the ſouth-weſt corner, at which place

is Niagara Fort; an handſome well-built fortification, of conſiderable ſtrength. A large bay ſhoots up from the entrance of the river weſtward.

LAKE ONTARIO is of an oval form, about 260 miles in length, and 150 wide in the middle. The country on the weſt and north of the lake, down to the river Toronto, which is about fifty miles, is very good. At the weſt-end a river runs in, from which are carrying-places, both to the Lake Sinclair and Lake Erie, or to rivers that flow into them.

The country upon the lake, between St. Lawrence and Toronto, is inhabited or owned by the Miſſiſſaugaus; and, by the fair and lofty timber upon it, is a good ſoil.

At the eaſterly corner of the lake flows in the River Oſwego, where we have another fort erected, and a garriſon kept up of a conſiderable force: this is about 200 miles from Niagara. The river Oſwego riſes from the Oneoida Lake, which is about thirty miles in length. At the eaſt-end of this lake ſtands a royal blockhouſe, which is garriſoned to keep up a communication with the lakes; and on the weſt-end of this lake is Fort Brewerton, another poſt, built for the ſame purpoſe: and about half-way between this and Oſwego is another blockhouſe, to command a ferry over the Seneca River.

This country is owned by the Five Nations. There are ſeveral rivers flowing through it to the lake; the moſt conſiderable is the river Sable, which joins the lake eighty or ninety miles eaſt of Niagara, and riſes near a branch of the Ohio. There are ſeveral falls upon, and one higher than, the falls of Niagara. The ſtream is about 200 feet wide for a great way up. It is very much concealed from the traveller, as he paſſes it on the lake, by an iſland ſituated before the mouth of it. About 150 miles up the river, are thoſe remarkable ſprings, greatly eſteemed by the Indians as a remedy for almoſt every diſeaſe: they are

called the Oil-ſprings, on account of an oleous ſubſtance that iſſues forth with the water, and riſes upon the ſurface of it.

In the rivers round Lake Ontario are ſalmon in great plenty during the ſummer-ſeaſon; and at the entrance of the river St. Lawrence are, during the winter-ſeaſon, an abundance of a kind of fiſh, called white-fiſh, which ſeem to be peculiar to this place, there being none ſuch any where elſe in America, excepting ſome few at Long Point. They are about the ſize of ſhads, and very agreeable to the palate. Here is great plenty of water-fowl, and game of all kinds common to the climate. In a word, the country round this lake is pleaſant, apparently fertile, and capable of valuable improvements.

The Five Nations have their towns, not adjacent to the lake, but at ſome diſtance from it, and moſtly upon the rivers that flow into it.

The river St. Lawrence takes its leave of Lake Ontario at the north-eaſt corner of it. Near the lake it is ten or twelve miles wide, having ſeveral iſlands in it; on one of which, the moſt northerly, at the head of the rifts, is a ſmall fortreſs, erected by the French, and now kept by us.

From Lake Ontario to the Cedars, the preſent weſtern boundary of the province of Quebec, is about eighty miles; and from thence to Lake St. Francis, which may be called the next ſtage of St. Lawrence, is nearly the ſame diſtance.

There are ſeveral ſettlements of the St. John's, Cape Sable, and ſeveral other tribes of Indians, upon the ſtreams falling into St. Lawrence from the ſouth, between that and Nova Scotia; and round the Gulph of St. Lawrence, between that and the Bay of Fundy; and the coaſts of the province of Main: whoſe chief ſubſiſtence is the wild game of the country; for they raiſe but little corn, and keep no cattle. There are alſo ſome Indians upon the north-ſide of St. Lawrence, near Quebec, called Hurons; but none of any great account. All the Indians on the lakes, ex

cepting the Hurons and Five Nations, have an affinity in their language, and appear to be originally from the ſame nation.

From this account of the country upon the river St. Lawrence, above what is now called the province of Quebec, there ſeems a proſpect in future, not only of a flouriſhing province, but a rich and great kingdom, exceeding in extent of territory moſt of the kingdoms in Europe: and though it has no open communication with the ſea, yet great amends are made for this defect by its numerous lakes and ſtreams running to and from them, by which there is an eaſy communication from one part of the country to another, almoſt through the whole.

The RIVER CHRISTINO, is ſo called from the Indians, the Chriſtinaux, who poſſeſs the country adjacent to it. Its higheſt ſource is, as hath been mentioned, at the north-eaſt of the central mountains, called by the Indians the Head of the Country. It riſes in ſeveral ſtreams, all which bend their courſe toward Hudſon's Bay, and fall in with each other at different places, till, in the courſe of about 150 miles from their ſource, they all unite, by which confluence a very large bay is formed, round which a tribe or diviſion of Chriſtinaux live.

Farther down the river, there are ſome few lakes; but none deſerving particular deſcription. There are ſeveral ſmall ſtreams which flow in on each ſide of the river, from a low boggy country, by which its waters are increaſed, till finally it diſcharges itſelf into Hudſon's Bay; near 200 miles north of York Fort, and about 500 miles from the before mentioned mountains.

The country adjacent to this river is vaſtly inferior to that on the lakes and the river St. Lawrence, as may well be ſuppoſed from its northerly ſituation; it lying between 55 and 60 degrees of north latitude. The winters are long and ſevere; the ſnow deep, and continues on the earth great part of the year.

The

The number of Indian warriors in this country is ſuppoſed to be about 2000. They generally cover their houſes, or huts, with the ſkins of wild beaſts; and not only make them warm and ſecure, but, according to their taſte, very neat and elegant. Theſe Indians have very near the ſame language with thoſe on the lakes, and north of the river St. Lawrence; and according to their own traditions, they all come round from the north into this country: and certain it is, that though they neglect the education of their children in almoſt every other reſpect, they are extremely ſolicitous to acquaint them with the ſtory of their anceſtors.

Farther northward ſtill, are ſome other rivers that flow into Hudſon's Bay; but the country adjacent to them being ſtill more northerly, is inferior, if poſſible, to that of the Chriſtinaux: and it ſeems obſervable in general, that the further north you travel on the American continent, the more ſavage and unimproved the nations appear to be.

From James's Bay, and along the coaſts of Labrador, the country is inhabited, or rather frequented, by a nation called the Eſkimaux*, who are a wandering unſettled generation, roving in large parties during the ſummer-ſeaſon, and come quite from Hudſon's Bay northward to the Straits of Belle Iſle, which they ſometimes croſs over to Newfoundland. Notwithſtanding this prodigious extent of country over which they ramble, they are not very numerous, being but about 4000 men. They ſubſiſt upon animals which they take out of theſe northern ſeas, ſuch as whales, ſeals, and the like; and cloathe themſelves with the furs and ſkins of ſuch animals as they take. During the winter-ſeaſon they abide in caverns under ground, and feed chiefly on whale-oil and blubber, unleſs raw fleſh chance to be thrown in their way.

* See Ellis's voyage for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, at the cloſe of this volume.

They travel chiefly by water, in a kind of canoes peculiar to themſelves, which are ſo contrived as to ride through almoſt any ſtorm that can happen; for in caſe of bad weather, they can lace and incloſe themſelves in and keep dry, while the canoe is rolled over and over without damage. They ſometimes venture ſeveral leagues to ſea in thoſe canoes in purſuit of whales, ſeals, &c.

Their chief trade is to our fort on James's Bay, and with ſuch veſſels as frequent their coaſt for the ſake of trading with them.

The Indians on the iſland of Newfoundland appear to be much the ſame ſort with thoſe laſt mentioned; they are called Micmacks; and are conſidered and hated as a barbarous and beaſtly people by all the other Indians in the neighbourhood, who maintain but little correſpondence with them.

The MISSISIPPI takes it riſe at the ſoutherly part of the central mountains, upward of 3000 miles, following the courſe of the river from its mouth at the Gulph of Mexico. Its higheſt ſource is a lake of conſiderable bigneſs, oppoſite to, or north-weſt of which, is a notch or opening in the mountain, from which a large ſtream flows to the lake, carrying with it a red ſulphureous ſubſtance, by which the water is diſcoloured; on which account this is called the Red Lake. It has a fine fertile country on the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt parts of it.

The courſe of the Miſſiſippi from the Red Lake is nearly ſouth-weſt for upward of 200 miles, where it is joined by a ſmaller ſtream from the weſtward, and its courſe is turned nearly ſouth-eaſt for more than 300 miles, where it is joined by the Muddy River, and before that by another not ſo large, and flowing to it from the north-eaſt. The Muddy River riſes from the ſouth of the central mountains, out of the large bog before mentioned, and runs ſouth, inclining to the weſt, till it meets the Miſſiſippi coming from the north-weſt, after which junction the river is

near

near two miles wide. The country on both ſides of the river, and of the branches that flow into it, is exceeding fine and good. The timber lofty, but thin; the plains large, and fertile. The air and climate, even quite to the head, moderate and agreeable. This fruitful country is at preſent inhabited by a nation of Indians, called by others the White Indians, on account of their complexion; they being much the faireſt Indians on the continent. This nation is very numerous, being able to raiſe 20 and 30,000 fighting men.

They uſe no weapons but bows and arrows, tomahawks, and a kind of wooden pikes; for which reaſon they often ſuffer greatly from the eaſtern Indians, who have the uſe of fire-arms, and frequently viſit the White Indians on the banks of the eaſterly branch, and kill or captivate them in great numbers. Theſe Indians live in large towns, and have commodious houſes; they raiſe Indian corn, tame the wild cows, and uſe both their milk and fleſh; they keep great numbers of dogs, and are very dexterous in hunting. They have little or no commerce with any nation that we at preſent are acquainted with.

From the confluence of the Muddy River the courſe of the Miſſiſippi is nearly ſouth for two hundred miles; where it is joined by a large ſtream from the weſt, which riſes four hundred miles from the central mountains; and its waters chiefly ſpring from the north and north-eaſterly part of the Miſauri Ridge, a chain, or rather a double chain of mountains, ſo called, which reach over toward the iſthmus of Darien. This is called by the Indians the Bloody River, on account of the long and bloody wars which have happened between the Indians here and thoſe to the eaſtward.

Four hundred miles farther down, another river flows in from the north-weſt, which riſes near the Bloody River. The two laſt mentioned rivers are both inhabited by the Illinois Indians, who likewiſe

poſſeſs the weſtern banks of the Miſſiſippi for ſeveral hundred miles.

The French had begun a ſettlement, which extended for fifty miles along the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſippi, and a conſiderable way up the river Illinois; but, ſince this place was ceded to the crown of Great Britain, the French have erected a garriſon on the other ſide of the river, whither the greateſt part of the inhabitants have retired. But thoſe of them who were Germans, choſe to tarry on this ſide, and become Britiſh ſubjects.

The Indians in this part of the country live very well, have commodious houſes, make great uſe of horſes: their country abounds with deer, elks, buffaloes, &c.

About an hundred and fifty, or two hundred miles below, where the Illinois flows into the Miſſiſippi on the eaſt-ſide, the Miſauris joins it on the weſt. This river takes its riſe from the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt of the before mentioned Miſauris ridge of mountains, in many different ſtreams, for near 1000 miles on this ſide, which unite with each other at different places; and, after an eaſterly and ſoutherly courſe of near 2000 miles, as the river runs, it flows into the Miſſiſippi.

The inhabitants on this river are called the Miſauri Indians, who are able to raiſe great numbers of fighting men; and have much the ſame cuſtoms and manners as the Illinois, who are likewiſe very numerous. The goodneſs of the country which they both inhabit, muſt render life agreeable and eaſy to perſons who, like them, are content with having the demands of nature anſwered, without endeavouring to increaſe theſe demands by any ſtudied refinements.

The river Miſſiſippi, after being joined by the Miſauris, is about ſix miles wide, and continuing its courſe ſoutherly, is joined by no conſiderable ſtream after this for between two or three hundred miles; where the Ohio flows into it, and makes a large ad-

dition to its waters. The country on each ſide the Miſſiſippi to this place, is much the ſame as that already deſcribed; but the climate is ſomething warmer, and is owned by the Tweeghtwees, or Yeahtanees, on the eaſt-ſide down to the Ohio, and eaſtwardly from the Miſſiſippi as far as the Wabach.

The OHIO riſes in ſeveral branches; one of which is near Preſque Iſle, on the Lake Ontario, and within ſix miles of the lake: about ten miles down this branch ſtands Fort Du Beauf, from which place it is navigable for canoes and ſmall boats quite to the mouth. The courſe of this branch is ſoutherly for ſeventy or eighty miles below Fort Du Beauf, where we had another fort, called Venango. About twenty miles above this laſt fort, on the banks of the ſtream, are ſeveral little towns of the Mingo Indians, who removed hither from Hudſon's River, and now belong to thoſe called the Five Nation Indians. This river is joined by two or three other ſtreams before it arrives at Fort Pitt.

Fort Pitt is a regular well-built fortreſs, kept in good order, and well garriſoned: it ſtands upon the point of land between the rivers Monongahela and Ohio.

From this the general courſe of the river is weſt, inclining to the ſouth for near a thouſand miles, as the river runs, where it joins the Miſſiſippi. At Fort Pitt it is a mile wide, but grows much wider before its junction with the Miſſiſippi, being joined by ſeveral ſtreams it its courſe thither.

As far down the Ohio as the river Wabach, the country on each ſide is claimed by the Five Nations: the Shawanees at preſent inhabit it, who can raiſe about three hundred fighting men; and further eaſtward, toward Lake Erie, live the Delawares, who can raiſe about five hundred fighting men. Theſe are in league with the Five Nations, and hold their lands under them, and are ſometimes called the Six Nations; and all together, ſince this alliance, which

which is of ſome years ſtanding, have the general appellation of the Six Nation Indians.

Weſt of the Wabach, as far as the Miſſiſippi ſouth, to where the Ohio joins it, and north to the heads of the Wabach and Yeahtanees Rivers, the country is owned by the Tweeghtwees or Yeahtanees Indians, who can furniſh out about two thouſand fighting men. Their chief ſettlements are at the heads of the before-mentioned rivers.

The country between the lakes and the junction of the Ohio and Miſſiſippi, for ſeveral hundred miles, and the country between Fort St. Joſeph and the Green Bay, and between Detroit and the Illinois, and even much farther north than Detroit, is level; the ſoil excellent, the climate healthy and agreeable, and the winters moderate and ſhort. Its natural productions are numerous and valuable. It is ſufficiently timbered with trees tall and fair, and fit for any common uſe.

There is a good coal-mine near Fort Pitt, made uſe of by the garriſon for fuel; and what is ſtill more in commendation of this country, is that it is well watered by ſprings and rivulets, and has an eaſy communication with the whole world from the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, and with great part of the interior country of North America, by its ſeveral branches. Indeed ſuch is the ſituation of this country, that, at or near the junction of the Ohio and Miſſiſippi, within a century or two, may poſſibly ariſe the largeſt city in the world.

Below the river Ohio, on the eaſt-ſide of the Miſſiſippi, down to its mouth, the country is owned and inhabited by the Chicketaws for near two hundred miles to the eaſtward. This nation can raiſe 10,000 fighting men. The ſoil of their country is ſandy, and not ſo good as that above deſcribed; however it produces rice and indigo to good perfection, of which the French have made ſufficient proof.

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The Chicketaws generally live in large towns; their chief ſettlements are not far from the banks of the Ohio, on the ſtreams that flow into it from the eaſt. Their houſes are not very elegant; however they have the art of making them tight, which neceſſity obliges them to do, to ſecure themſelves againſt the flies, which are here very troubleſome at ſome ſeaſons of the year. They keep cows, hogs and horſes; the latter in great abundance. They raiſe plenty of corn, beans, potatoes, &c. but have very little game, except deer.

The Cherokees inhabit the ſouth-weſt end of the Apalachian mountains, from the head of the Taneſee River, which flows into the Ohio, about a hundred miles before its junction with the Miſſiſippi. The extent of their country from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt is about four hundred miles, and about two hundred miles wide. It is very mountainous and broken, and difficult of acceſs any way. They live in as good order as any ſavages on the continent; have great plenty of horſes, ſome black cattle, and many ſwine. They raiſe corn in abundance, and fence in their fields, which no other Indians do: they alſo keep poultry, and have orchards of peach-trees. They likewiſe attend to gardening, are very famous for hunting, and their country abounds with deer, bears, and ſome elks and turkeys in great plenty in the fertile vallies between the mountains. The Cherokees can raiſe about 2000 fighting men. The Taneſee is wholly uninhabited below the mountains to where it joins the Ohio; but the country upon it is claimed by the Chickeſaws, a brave warlike people, who have but one town, ſituated on a plain by a ſmall creek that riſes about thirty miles ſouth of the Taneſee. Their town is picqueted in, and fortified with a fort. They build their houſes much in the ſame form as the Chicktaws. They raiſe corn in great abundance, and have large droves of horſes, ſome black cattle

cattle and ſwine. They can raiſe about five hundred fighting men.

The Creek Indians live ſouth-weſt of the Cherokees, partly between them and the Chicktaws, St. Auguſtin and Georgia, and have a level country. They live in the ſame manner, and have the ſame commodities as the Chicktaws and Cherokees, and can raiſe about 2000 fighting men. All the country of the Creeks is infeſted with allegators and ſnakes of a very large ſize; and flies, that at certain ſeaſons are a very great torment to them.

From the Miſauris down to the weſt-ſide of the Miſſiſippi the ſoil is good, till you come near the mouth of it. The French have a ſettlement (a little above where the Ohio flows in) on the weſt-ſide; about an hundred miles farther down, another ſcattered ſettlement of theirs begins, and is continued for near an hundred miles, from whence to New Orleans the country is better ſettled. The produce of this country is rice, Indian corn, and ſome wheat. The iſland of Orleans is a very beautiful and fertile ſpot of ground, on which the French have a conſiderable town. The number of French in this province is about a hundred thouſand. The negroes are very numerous. The ſoil toward the ſouth is well adapted to rice and indigo, and toward the north to wheat. The number of inhabitants increaſes very faſt, and will in a ſhort time become a large colony; and, if poſſeſſed by thoſe ambitious neighbours the French, will be capable of creating freſh troubles to the Britiſh ſubjects in America. On the weſt-ſide of the Miſſiſippi, adjoining to the French ſettlement, are the Chataw Indians: whoſe country is much like that already deſcribed; and their manners and methods of living the ſame with the Chicketaws and Cherokees.

Major Rogers, after the foregoing deſcription of the interior parts of North America, of which, before the late war carried the Engliſh forces ſo much through

through it, we had but very imperfect information, or what could be relied on; proceeds to give us the following entertaining particulars of the connections, manners and cuſtoms of the Indian inhabitants.

Thoſe of them who have any concerns or commerce with the Engliſh, are ſuch as inhabit from the eaſt-ſide of the Miſſiſippi to the ſouth-ſide of the river Chriſtino: and among all the nations and tribes in this vaſt extent of country, thoſe called the Five Nation Indians are deſerving of the firſt notice. They are dreaded and revered by all the others for their ſuperior underſtanding, and valour in war; in which conſtant practice renders them expert, they being in almoſt continual wars with one nation or other, and ſometimes with ſeveral together. Their cuſtoms, manners, and modes of dreſs, are adopted by many of the other tribes as nearly as poſſible. In ſhort, thoſe Indians are generally among the other nations eſteemed the politeſt and beſt bred, who the neareſt reſemble theſe. They claim all the country ſouth of the river St. Lawrence to the Ohio, and down the Ohio to the Wabach, from the mouth of the Wabach to the bounds of Virginia; weſterly, to the Lakes Ontario and Erie, and the river Miamee; their eaſtern boundaries are Lake Champlain, and the Britiſh colonies. When the Engliſh firſt ſettled in America, they could raiſe 15,000 fighting men; but now, including the Delawares and Shawanees, they do not amount to more than between three or four thouſand, having been thus reduced by their inteſtine quarrels and frequent engagements with the French.

The Mohocks were formerly the moſt numerous tribe amongſt them, but now they are the ſmalleſt; however, they ſtill preſerve a ſuperiority and authority over the reſt, as the moſt honourable nation. They have been inveterate enemies to the French ever ſince their firſt ſettling in Canada; and are almoſt the only Indians within many hundred miles, that have been proof againſt the ſolicitations of the French to

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turn againſt us. They now maintain a conſtant war with the Cherokees, Creeks, and Chickeſaws; and many of their young men are annually employed that way: in ſhort, they ſometimes carry their hoſtilities almoſt as far ſouth as the iſthmus of Darien; but they have long lived in peace with the Indians on the lakes, and with the Tweeghtwees; thoſe two nations being too near, and too able to retaliate any affront they may offer them.

The Indians do not want for natural good ſenſe and ingenuity, many of them diſcovering a great capacity for any art or ſcience, liberal or mechanical. Their imaginations are ſo ſtrong, and their memories ſo retentive, that when they have once been at a place, let it be ever ſo diſtant, or obſcure, they will readily find it again. The Indians about Nova Scotia and the Gulph of St. Lawrence have frequently paſſed over to the Labrador, which is thirty or forty leagues, without a compaſs, and have landed at the very ſpot they at firſt intended; and even in dark cloudy weather they will direct their courſe by land with great exactneſs; which they do by obſerving the bark and boughs of trees: the north-ſide, in this country, being always moſſy, and the boughs on the ſouth-ſide the largeſt.

It is obſervable, that you will rarely find among the Indians a perſon that is in any way deformed in their limbs, or defective in their intellects; notwithſtanding the little care taken about the mother in the time of her pregnancy, the neglect the infant is treated with when born, and the fatigues the youth is obliged to ſuffer: but ſpirituous liquors, of which they are inſatiably fond, and the women as well as the men, have already ſurpriſingly leſſened their number; and will, in all probability, in time, clear the country of them.

Indeed the mothers, in their way, take great care of their children, and are extremely fond of them. They ſeldom wean them till they are two years old, or more;

more; and carry them on their backs till the burden grows quite inſupportable to them. When they leave the cradle, they go when and where they pleaſe: their parents are however careful to inſtruct them early in the uſe of arms, eſpecially the bow; and are often recounting to them the exploits and great atchievements of their anceſtors, in order to inſpire them with great and noble ſentiments. They introduce them very young into their public councils, and make them acquainted with the moſt important affairs and tranſactions, which accuſtoms them to ſecreſy, gives them a compoſed and manly air, inſpires them with emulation, and makes them bold and enterpriſing. They ſeldom chaſtiſe their children; when they are young, they ſay, becauſe they are not endued with reaſon to guide them right, otherwiſe they would not do wrong: when they are more advanced in life, they ſay, becauſe they are capable of judging, and ought to be maſters of their own actions, and are not accountable to any one. Theſe maxims are carried ſo far, that parents ſometimes ſuffer themſelves to be abuſed by their children; and in the ſame way they will excuſe any ill-treatment they meet with from a drunken man: ſhould we blame or puniſh him, ſay they, when he does not know what he does, or has not his reaſon? When a mother ſees her daughter act amiſs, ſhe falls into tears; and upon the other's taking notice of it, and enquiring the cauſe, ſhe replies, becauſe you do ſo, and ſo diſhonour me: which kind of admonition ſeldom fails of the deſired effect. The Indians do not always enter into a formal obligation of marriage, but take companions for a longer or ſhorter time, as they pleaſe; and the children which ſpring from hence lie under no diſgrace.

The Indian men are remarkable for their idleneſs, upon which they ſeem to value themſelves; ſaying, that to labour would be degrading them, and belongs only to the women: that they are formed only for war, hunting, and fiſhing.

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Moſt of the Indians are poſſeſſed of a ſurpriſing patience and equanimity of mind, and a command of every paſſion, except revenge, beyond what philoſophers or Chriſtians uſually attain to. You may ſee them bearing the moſt ſudden and unexpected misfortunes with calmneſs and compoſure of mind, without a word, or change of countenance: a priſoner, who knows not where his captivity may end, or whether he may not in a few hours be put to a moſt cruel death, never loſes a moment's ſleep on this account; but eats and drinks with as much chearfulneſs as thoſe into whoſe hands he has fallen. Even when under thoſe ſhocking tortures which priſoners are frequently put to, they will not only make themſelves chearful, but provoke and irritate their tormentors with moſt cutting reproaches.

Another thing remarkable among theſe people, who put on at all times a ſavage, cruel appearance, is, that thoſe of the ſame nation, or that are in alliance, behave to each other with an high degree of complaiſance and good nature. If any quarrels happen, they never make uſe of oaths, or any indecent expreſſions, or call one another by hard names; but, at the ſame time, no duration can put a period to their revenge: it is often a legacy transferred from generation to generation, and left as a bequeſt from father to ſon, till an opportunity offers of taking ample ſatisfaction, perhaps in the third or fourth generation from thoſe who firſt did the injury. They are not, however, ſtrangers to the utility and pleaſures of friendſhip; for each of them, at a certain age, makes choice of ſome one near about their own age, to be their moſt intimate and boſom friend; for whom they will brave any danger, and run any riſk to aſſiſt and ſupport: and this attachment is carried ſo far, as even to overcome the fears of death, which they look upon to be only a temporary ſeparation, and that they ſhall meet and be united in friendſhip in the other world.

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There is no nation of Indians but ſeem to have ſome ſenſe of a Deity, and a kind of religion among them; but this is ſo various, perplexed and confuſed, that it is difficult to deſcribe it very minutely. They likewiſe hold an evil ſpirit, or demon, who, ſay they, is always inclined to miſchief, and bears a great ſway in the creation; and it is this latter that is the principal object of their adorations and devotions: they generally addreſs him by way of deprecation.

The Indians depend much upon their dreams, and really believe that they dream the whole hiſtory of their future life, or what it may be collected from in their youth. For this reaſon they make dreaming a kind of religious ceremony when they come to ſufficient years, which is thus performed: they beſmear their face all over with black paint, and faſt for ſeveral days, in which time they expect the good genius, or propitious ſpirit, will appear, or manifeſt himſelf to him in ſome ſhape or other in his dreams. The effect which this long faſt muſt naturally occaſion in the brain of a young perſon, muſt without doubt be conſiderable; and the parents, and other old people, take care, during the operation, that the dreams they have in the night be faithfully reported next morning. Religious impoſtors are not leſs frequent among the Indians in America, than among the Chriſtians of Europe; and ſome of them are very ſucceſsful in perſuading the multitude that they are filled with a divine enthuſiaſm, and a kind of inſpiration: few knowing better how to act their part in this ſacred juggle than they. They not only preſcribe laws and rules, and perſuade the populace to believe them; but undertake to unfold the myſteries of religion and a future ſtate, to ſolve and interpret all their dreams and viſions, &c. They repreſent the other world as a place abounding with an inexhauſtible plenty of every thing deſirable, and that they ſhall enjoy the moſt full and exquiſite gratification of all their ſenſes: and hence it is, no doubt, that the Indians meet

death with ſuch indifference and compoſure of mind; no Indian being in the leaſt diſmayed at the news that he has but a few hours or minutes to live, but with ſpirit and compoſure harangues thoſe who are round him: and thus a father leaves his dying advice to his children, and takes a formal leave of all his friends.

The Indians generally bury their dead with great decency, and erect monuments over their graves. They depoſit in their grave ſuch things as the deceaſed had made the greateſt uſe of, and been moſt attached to; as pipes, tobacco, bows, arrows, &c. that he may not be in want of any thing when he comes to the other country. The mothers mourn for their children a long time, and the neighbours make preſents to the bereaved father, which he retaliates by giving them a feaſt.

The Indian feaſts, whether at a funeral, a triumph, a viſit, or whatever the occaſion be, are very ſimple and inartful. The ſavage does not mortify his friend with a ſplendid appearance, but makes him chearful by dividing his riches with him; and values not ſpending the fruits of a whole ſeaſon's toil, to convince him that he is welcome: nay, thinks himſelf happy in having ſuch an opportunity to oblige him.

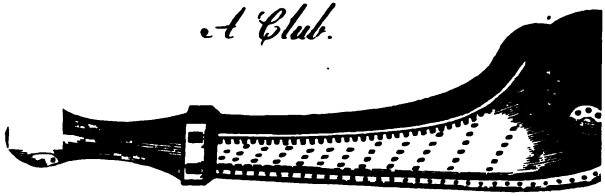
From their revengeful diſpoſition, the Indians are eaſily induced at any time to make wars, and ſeldom refuſe to engage when ſolicited by their allies: very often the moſt trifling provocations rouſe them to arms, and prove the occaſions of bloodſhed and murder. Their petty private quarrels are often decided this way, and expeditions of this kind are undertaken without the knowledge or conſent of a general council, or any formal declaration of war. Theſe private excurſions are winked at, excuſed, and encouraged, as a means of keeping their young men alert, and of acquainting them with the diſcipline and exerciſes of war. And indeed theſe petty wars ſeem neceſſary, ſince their laws and penalties are inſufficient to reſtrain them within the bounds of reaſon and common juſtice,

juſtice; and are a poor ſecurity of private property: but when war becomes a national affair, they enter upon it with great deliberation and ſolemnity; and proſecute it with the utmoſt ſecreſy, diligence and attention. Their method of declaring war is very ſolemn and pompous, attended with many ceremonies of terror. In the firſt place, they call an aſſembly of the Sachems and chief warriors, to deliberate upon the affair. In which congreſs, among the northern Indians and the Five Nations, the women have a voice as well as the men. When they are aſſembled, the preſident or chief Sachem propoſes the affair they have met to conſult upon; and, taking up the hatchet which lies by him ſays, Who among you will go and fight againſt ſuch a nation? Who among you will go and bring captives from thence, to replace our deceaſed friends, that our wrongs may be avenged, and our name and honour maintained as long as rivers flow, graſs grows, or the ſun and moon endure? He having thus ſaid, one of the principal warriors riſes, and harangues the whole aſſembly; and then addreſſing himſelf to the young men, enquires, who among them will go along with him and fight their enemies? when they generally ariſe, one after another, and fall in behind him, while he walks round the circle or parade, till he is joined by a ſufficient number. Generally at ſuch a congreſs they have a deer or ſome beaſt roaſted whole; and each of them cuts off a piece and eats, ſaying, This way will I devour our enemies, naming the nation they are going to attack. All that chuſe, having performed this ceremony, and thereby ſolemnly engaged to behave with fidelity and as a good warrior, the dance begins, and they ſing the war-ſong; the matter of which relates to their intended expedition and conqueſt: which is expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt and moſt pathetic manner, and with a tone of terror. So great is the eloquence or influence of their women in theſe conſultations, that the final reſult very much depends upon them. If

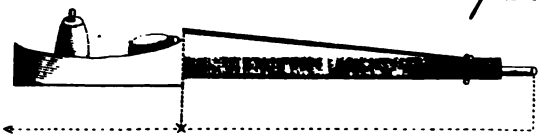
any one of theſe nations, in conjunction with the chiefs, has a mind to excite one, who does not immediately depend upon them, to take part in the war, either to appeaſe the manes of her huſband, ſon, or near relation, or to take priſoners, to ſupply the place of ſuch as have died in her family, or are in captivity; ſhe preſents, by the hands of ſome truſty young warrior, a ſtring of wampum to the perſon whoſe help ſhe ſolicits: which invitation ſeldom fails of its deſired effect. And when they ſolicit the alliance, offenſive or defenſive, of a whole nation, they ſend an embaſſy with a large belt of wampum, and a bloody hatchet, inviting them to come and drink the blood of their enemies.

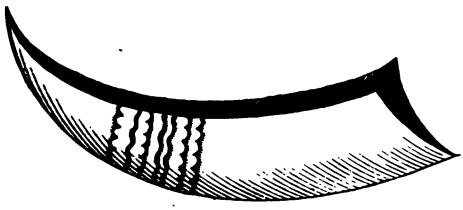
The wampum made uſe of upon theſe and other occaſions, before their acquaintance with Europeans, was nothing but ſmall ſhells, which they picked up by the ſea-coaſts and on the banks of the lakes: and now it is made with a kind of cylindrical beads, made of ſhells white and black, which are eſteemed among them as ſilver and gold are among us. The black they call the moſt valuable, and both together are their greateſt riches and ornaments; theſe among them anſwering all the ends that money does among us. They have the art of ſtringing, twiſting, and interweaving theſe into their belts, collars, blankets, mogaſons, &c. in ten thouſand different ſizes, forms and figures, ſo as to be ornaments for every part of dreſs, and expreſſive to them of all their important tranſactions. They dye the wampum of various colours and ſhades, and mix and diſpoſe them with great ingenuity and order, and ſo as to be ſignificant among themſelves of almoſt any thing they pleaſe: ſo that by theſe their records are kept, and their thoughts communicated to one another, as ours are by writing. The belts that paſs from one nation to another, in all treaties, declarations, and important tranſactions, are carefully preſerved in the palaces or cabbins of their chiefs; and ſerve, not only as a kind of record

A Club.

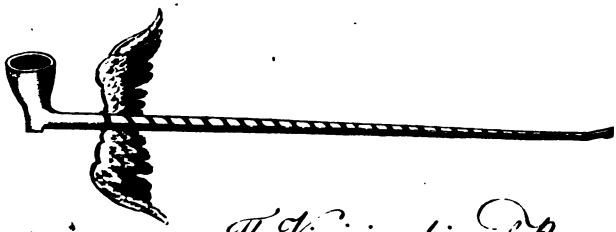


The Calumet of Peace





A Tomahawk.



The Virginian pipe of Peace.

A. Hulett. Sculp.

record or hiſtory, but as a public treaſure. It muſt, however, be an affair of national importance in which they uſe collars or belts: it being looked upon as a very great abuſe and abſurdity to uſe them on trifling occaſions.

Nor is the calumet or pipe of peace of leſs importance, or leſs revered among them in many tranſactions, relative both to peace and war. The bowl of this pipe is made of a kind of ſoft red ſtone, which is eaſily wrought and hollowed out; the ſtem is of cane, elder, or ſome kind of light wood, painted with different colours, and decorated with the heads, tails, and feathers of the moſt beautiful birds, &c. The uſe of the calumet is, to ſmoak either tobacco, or ſome bark-leaf, or herb, which they often uſe inſtead of it, when they enter into an alliance, or on any ſerious occaſion, or ſolemn engagement: and this being among them the moſt ſacred oath that can be taken, the violation of it is eſteemed moſt infamous, and deſerving of ſevere puniſhment from heaven. When they treat of war, the whole pipe and all its ornaments are red; ſometimes it is red only on one ſide, and by the diſpoſition of the feathers, &c. one acquainted with their cuſtoms will know, at firſt ſight, what the nation who preſents it intends or deſires. Smoaking the calumet is alſo a religious ceremony upon ſome occaſions, and in all treaties is conſidered as a witneſs between the parties; or rather as an inſtrument by which they invoke the ſun and moon to witneſs their ſincerity, and to be, as it were, guarantees of the treaty between them.

The ſize and decorations of their calumets are commonly proportioned to the quality of the perſons they are preſented to, and the eſteem or regard they have for them; and alſo to the importance of the occaſion.

Another inſtrument of great eſteem and importance among them is the tomahawk. This is an ancient weapon univerſally uſed by them in war, before they were taught the uſe of iron and ſteel; ſince which

hatchets have been ſubſtituted in lieu of them. But this inſtrument ſtill retains its uſe and importance in public tranſactions; and, like the pipe, is often very ſignificant. This weapon is formed much like an hatchet, having a long ſtem or handle; the head is a round ball or knob of ſolid wood, well enough calculated to knock men's brains out, which on the other ſide of the ſtem terminates in a point where the edge would be, if made an hatchet, which point is ſet a little hooking or coming towards the ſtem; and near the center, where the ſtem or handle pierces the head, another point projects forward of a conſiderable length, which ſerves to thruſt with like a ſpear, or pike-pole.

The tomahawk likewiſe is ornamented with feathers and paintings, diſpoſed and variegated in many ſignificant forms, according to the occaſion and end for which it is uſed; and on it they keep journals of their marches, and moſt important and noted occurrences, in a kind of hieroglyphics. When the council is called to deliberate on war, the tomahawk is painted all over red, and when the council ſits it is laid down by the chief: and if war is concluded upon, the captain of the young warriors takes it up, and with it in his hands dances and ſings the war-ſong, as before-mentioned. When the council is over, this hatchet, or ſome other of the kind, is ſent by the hands of ſome warrior to every tribe concerned, and with it he preſents a belt of wampum, and delivers his meſſage, throwing the hatchet on the ground; which is taken up by one of their moſt expert warriors, if they chuſe to join: if not, they return it, and with a belt of their wampum ſuitable to the occaſion.

Every nation or tribe have their diſtinguiſhing enſigns or coats of arms; which is generally ſome beaſt, bird, or fiſh. Thus among the Five Nations are the bear, otter, wolf, tortoiſe and eagle; and by theſe names the tribes are generally diſtinguiſhed: and they have the ſhapes of theſe animals curiouſly pricked and painted

painted on ſeveral parts of their bodies. When they march through the woods, generally at every encampment they cut the figure of their arms with other matters on trees, eſpecially if it be from a ſucceſsful campaign; that travellers that way may know they have been there, and the number of ſcalps or priſoners they have taken.

Their military dreſs has ſomething in it very romantic and terrible, eſpecially the cut of their hair, and the paintings and decorations they make uſe of. They cut off, or pull out all their hair, excepting a ſpot about the ſize of two Engliſh crowns near the top of their heads: their beards and eye-brows they totally deſtroy. The lock left upon their head is divided into ſeveral parcels; each of which is ſtiffened and adorned with wampum, beads, and feathers of various ſhapes and hues: and the whole twiſted, turned, and connected together, till it takes a form much reſembling the modern Pomtadour upon the crown of their heads. Their heads are painted red down to the eye-brows, and ſprinkled over with white down. The griſtles of their ears are ſplit almoſt quite round, and then diſtended with wire or ſplinters, ſo as to meet and tie together in the nape of their necks: theſe alſo are hung with ornaments, and have generally the figure of ſome bird or beaſt drawn upon them. Their noſes are likewiſe bored, and hung with trinkets of beads; and their faces painted with divers colours, which are ſo diſpoſed as to make an awful appearance. Their breaſts are adorned with a gorget, or medal of braſs, copper, or ſome other metal; and that horrid weapon the ſcalping-knife hangs by a ſtring which goes round their necks.

Thus attired, and equipped with the other armour they make uſe of, and warlike ſtores, they march forth, ſinging the war-ſong, till they loſe ſight of the caſtle or village from which they marched; and are generally followed by their women for ſome conſiderable ſpace, who aſſiſt them in carrying their baggage,

whether by land or water, but commonly return before they proceed to any action.

When a ſmall party goes out, they ſeldom have more than one commander: i. e. if the number does not exceed ten, which is one of their companies; if there be twenty, they have two commanders; if forty, four, &c. and when it comes to an hundred or upward, a general is appointed over the others, not properly to command, but to give his opinion and advice; which they make no ſcruple to diſregard, if it does not happen to tally with their own: however, it is very rare that the directions of the general are diſregarded, eſpecially if countenanced and ſupported by the advice of the old men; which ſeems to be the higheſt authority both in the ſtate and army amongſt them.

The generaliſſimo, or commander in chief, as well civil as military, among all the Indians to the northward, who ſpeak the Roundock dialect, is elective; which election is attended with many ceremonies of ſinging and dancing: and the chief, when choſen, never fails making a panegyric upon the perſon to whom he ſucceeds.

The Indians have no ſtated rules of diſcipline, or fixed methods of proſecuting a war: they make their attacks in as many different ways as there are occaſions on which they make them; but generally in a very ſecret, ſkulking, underhand manner, in flying parties that are equipped for the purpoſe, with a thin light dreſs, generally conſiſting of nothing more than a ſhirt, ſtockings, and mogaſons, and ſometimes almoſt naked.

The weapons uſed by thoſe who have commerce with the Engliſh and French, are commonly a firelock, hatchet, and ſcalping-knife; the others uſe bows, tomahawks, pikes, &c.

The chiefs ſeldom ſpeak much themſelves at general meetings, or in public aſſemblies; counting it beneath their dignity to utter their own ſentiments upon

theſe

theſe occaſions in an audible manner: they therefore intruſt them with a perſon to declare for them, who is called their ſpeaker or orator; there being one of this profeſſion in every tribe and town: and their manner of ſpeaking is generally natural and eaſy, their words ſtrong and expreſſive, their ſtile truly laconic, nothing being ſaid but what is to the purpoſe, either to inform the judgment, or raiſe ſuch paſſions as the ſubject naturally excites.

Thoſe who profeſs oratory, make it their buſineſs to be thoroughly acquainted with the ſubject they are to ſpeak upon, and have the whole matter and method well fixed in their memories beforehand, that they may be at no loſs what to ſay, or how to expreſs themſelves: and though they hold no regular parliaments, or courts of juſtice, yet they have frequent opportunities to diſplay their talents this way; they being almoſt conſtantly buſied in making freſh, or renewing former treaties, in tenders of their ſervices, in ſolicitations, in addreſſes on the birth, death, or advancement of ſome great perſon, &c.

In their private debates, not only the orators, but every perſon is heard who chuſes to ſpeak in it; and if any one has given a preſent to the ſachem for his vote one way or another, he is generally ſure to have it: which renders juſtice in the redreſs of private grievances very precarious. This however is not attended with ſuch bad conſequences as might be imagined; for their private contentions are few, and are generally compromiſed by the interpoſition of friends.

In ſhort, the great and fundamental principles of their policy are, that every man is naturally free and independent; that no one has any right to deprive him of his freedom and independency; and that nothing can be a compenſation for the loſs of it.

When the Indians return from a ſucceſsful campaign, they manage their march ſo as not to approach their village till toward the evening. When night comes

comes on, they ſend two or three forward to acquaint their chief, and the whole village, with the moſt material circumſtances of their campaign. At day-light next morning they cloathe their priſoners with new cloaths, adorn their heads with feathers, paint their faces with various colours, and put into their hands a white ſtaff or wand, toſſeled round with the tails of deer. When this is done, the war-captain or commander in this expedition ſets up a cry, and gives as many holloos or yells as he has taken ſcalps and priſoners; and the whole village aſſemble at the water-ſide, if there be one near. As ſoon as the warriors appear, four or five of their young men, well cloathed, get into a canoe, if they came by water, or otherwiſe march by land: the two firſt carry each a calumet, and go ſinging to ſearch the priſoners, whom they lead in triumph to the cabin where they are to receive their doom. It is the prerogative of the owner of this cabin to determine their fate, though very often it is left to ſome woman, who has loſt her huſband, brother, or ſon, in the war; and, when this is the caſe, ſhe generally adopts him in the place of the deceaſed, and ſaves his life. The priſoner, after having been preſented, has victuals immediately given him to eat; and while he is at this repaſt, a conſultation is held: and if it be reſolved to ſave the priſoner's life, two young men untie him; and, taking him by the hands, lead him directly to the cabin of the perſon into whoſe family he is to be adopted. But if the ſentence be death, the whole village ſet up the death holloo or cry, and the execution is no longer deferred than till they can make the neceſſary preparations for it. They firſt ſtrip the perſon who is to ſuffer, from head to foot, and, fixing two poſts in the ground, they faſten to them two pieces croſſways, one about two feet from the ground, and the other about five or ſix feet higher; they then oblige the unhappy victim to mount upon the lower croſs-piece, to which they tie his legs a little aſunder. His hands

are

are extended, and tied to the angles formed by the upper croſs piece; and in this poſture they burn him all over the body, ſometimes firſt daubing him with pitch. The whole village, men, women, and children, aſſemble round him, and every one has a right to torture him in what manner they pleaſe, and as long as there is life in him. If none of the byſtanders are inclined to lengthen out his torments, he is not long kept in pain; but is either ſhot to death with arrows, or incloſed with dry bark, to which they ſet fire: they then leave him on the frame, and in the evening run from cabin to cabin, and ſtrike their furniture, the walls and roofs of their cabins, with ſmall twigs, to prevent his ſpirit from remaining there to take vengeance for the evils committed on his body; the remainder of the day, and the night following, is ſpent in rejoicings.

The above is their moſt uſual method of executing priſoners: but ſometimes they faſten them to a ſingle ſtake, and build a fire round them; at other times they gaſh and cut off the fingers, toes, &c. of their priſoners, joint by joint; and at other times they ſcald them to death. They often kill their priſoners on the ſpot where they take them, or in their way home, when they have any fear of their eſcaping, or when they find it inconvenient to carry them farther.

But if they have been unſucceſsful, things wear quite a different face: they then return, and enter the village without ceremony by day, with grief and melancholy in their countenances, keeping a profound ſilence: or if they have ſuſtained any loſs, they enter in the evening, giving the death-hoop, and naming thoſe they have loſt, either by ſickneſs or by the enemy. The village being aſſembled, they ſit down with their heads covered, and all weep together, without ſpeaking a ſingle word for ſome conſiderable time. When this ſilence is over, they begin to lament aloud for their companions, and every thing wears the face of mourning among them for ſeveral days.

Such

Such in general are the manners and cuſtoms of the Indians called the Five Nations, which in the main agree to thoſe of all the Indians with whom we have any connexions or commerce, as they all endeavour to imitate theſe. But all the tribes have ſome things peculiar to themſelves. Among the Hurons (who are called fathers by the Five Nations, and who are doubtleſs of the ſame nation) the dignity of chief is hereditary, and the ſucceſſion is in the female line: ſo that, on the death of the chief, it is not his ſon, but his ſiſter's ſon, that ſucceeds him, and, in default of him, his neareſt relation in the female line; and in caſe this whole line ſhould be extinct, the moſt noble matron of the tribe or town makes choice of any one ſhe pleaſes for a chief. If the perſon who ſucceeds is not arrived to years ſufficient to take the charge of the government, a regent is appointed, who has the whole authority, but acts in the name of the minor.

The Delawares and Shawanees are remarked for their deceit and perfidy, paying little or no regard to their word and moſt ſolemn engagements.

The Tweeghtwees and Yeahtanees are remarkably mild and ſedate, and ſeem to have ſubdued their paſſions beyond any other Indians on the continent. They have always been ſteady friends to the Engliſh, and are fond of having them in their country; they might no doubt be made very uſeful ſubjects, were proper ſteps taken to civilize them.

The Cherokees, Creeks, and Chictaws, are governed by ſeveral ſachems or chiefs (ſomething like the United Provinces or States of Holland) which are elected by their different tribes or villages. The Chickeſaws have a king, and a council for his aſſiſtance, and are eſteemed a brave people; they are generally at war with all the other Indians eaſt of the Miſſiſſippi.

It is ſuppoſed that the Chickeſaws came from South America, and introduced horſes into the North. The Creeks and Chictaws puniſh their women when the

they prove diſloyal to their huſbands, by cutting off their hair, which they will not ſuffer to grow again till the corn is ripe the next ſeaſon. The Chickeſaws, their neighbours, are not at all troubled with a ſpirit of jealouſy, and ſay it demeans a man to ſuſpect a woman's chaſtity. They are tall, well-ſhaped, and handſome-featured, eſpecially their women, far exceeding in beauty any other nation to the ſouthward: but even theſe are exceeded by the Huron women upon Lake Erie, who are allowed to be the beſt ſhaped and moſt beautiful ſavages on the continent, and are univerſally eſteemed by the other nations. They dreſs much neater than any others, and curiouſly adorn their heads, necks, wriſts, &c. notwithſtanding which you will ſeldom find a jealous huſband, either among the Hurons or the Five Nation Indians.

The men of the Ottawawas, or Souties, are luſty, ſquare, and ſtraight limbed. The women ſhort, thick, and but very indifferent for beauty, yet their huſbands are very prone to be jealous of them; and whenever this whim comes in their heads, they cut off the tip of the ſuſpected wife's noſe, that ſhe may for ever after be diſtinguiſhed by a mark of infamy.

The Indians on the lakes are generally at peace with one another, having a wide extended and fruitful country in their poſſeſſion. They are formed into a ſort of empire, and the emperor is elected from the eldeſt tribe, which is the Ottawawas, ſome of whom inhabit near our fort at Detroit, but are moſtly farther weſtward toward the Miſſiſippi. Ponteack is their preſent king or emperor, who has certainly the largeſt empire and greateſt authority of any Indian chief that has appeared on the continent ſince our acquaintance with it. He puts on an air of majeſty and princely grandeur, and is greatly honoured and revered by his ſubjects. He not long ſince formed a deſign of uniting all the Indian nations together under his authority, but miſcarried in the attempt.

Major

Major Rogers informs us, that in the year 1760, when he commanded and marched the firſt detachment into this country that was ever ſent there by the Engliſh, he was met on the way by an embaſſy from Ponteack; the purport of which was, to let the Major know, that Ponteack was at a ſmall diſtance, coming peaceably, and that he deſired him to halt his detachment till ſuch time as he could ſee him with his own eyes. His ambaſſadors had alſo orders to inform the Major that he was Ponteack, the king and lord of the country he was then in.

At firſt ſalutation when they met, Ponteack demanded of Major Rogers what brought him into his country, and how he dared to enter it without his leave? The Major informed him that it was not with any deſign againſt the Indians that he came, but to remove the French out of his country, who had been an obſtacle in our way to mutual peace and commerce; and acquainted him with his inſtructions for that purpoſe. He at the ſame time delivered to his majeſty ſeveral friendly meſſages, or belts of wampum, which he received; but gave him no other anſwer, than that he ſtood in the path the Major travelled in till next morning; giving him a ſmall ſtring of wampum, as much as to ſay, he muſt not march further without his leave. When Ponteack departed for the night, he enquired whether Major Rogers wanted any thing that his country afforded, and he would ſend his warriors to fetch it? The Major aſſured him that any proviſions brought ſhould be paid for; and the next day they were ſupplied with ſeveral bags of parched corn, and ſome other neceſſaries. At their ſecond meeting he gave the Major the pipe of peace, and both by turns ſmoaked with it; aſſuring him that he had made peace with him and his detachment; that he might paſs through his country unmoleſted, and that he would protect him from any inſults that might be offered or intended by the Indians: as an earneſt of his friendſhip, he ſent

100 warriors to protect the Major, and aſſiſt in driving 100 fat cattle, which he had brought for the uſe of the detachment from Pittſburg, by the way of Preſque Iſle. His majeſty likewiſe ſent to the ſeveral Indian towns on the ſouth-ſide and weſt-end of Lake Erie, to inform them that Major Rogers had his conſent to come into the country. He attended the Major conſtantly after this interview while he remained in the country, and was the means of preſerving the detachment from the fury of the Indians, who had aſſembled at the mouth of the ſtrait with an intent to cut them off.

Major Rogers had ſeveral conferences with Ponteack in which he diſcovered great ſtrength of judgment, and a thirſt after knowledge. He endeavoured to inform himſelf of our military order and diſcipline. He often intimated, that he could be content to reign in his country in ſubordination to the king of Great Britain, and was willing to pay him ſuch annual acknowledgment as he was able in furs, and to call him his uncle. He was curious to know the Engliſh methods of manufacturing cloth, iron, &c. and expreſſed a great deſire to ſee England; and offered Major Rogers a part of his country if he would conduct him there. He aſſured the Major that he was inclined to live peaceably with the Engliſh, and to encourage their ſettling in his country, while they uſed him as he deſerved; but intimated, that, if they treated him with neglect, he ſhould ſhut up the way, and exclude them from it: in ſhort, his whole converſation ſufficiently indicated that he was far from conſidering himſelf as a conquered prince, and that he expected to be treated with the reſpect and honour due to a monarch by all who came into his country, or treated with him.

In 1763, this Indian had the art and addreſs to engage a number of tribes into a confederacy, with a deſign firſt to reduce the Engliſh forts upon the lakes, and then make a peace to his mind; by which he in-

tended to eſtabliſh himſelf in his imperial authority; and ſo wiſely were his meaſures taken, that, in fifteen days time, he reduced or took ten of our garriſons, which were all we had in this country, except Detroit; and had he carried this garriſon alſo, nothing was in the way to compleat his ſcheme. Some of the Indians left him, and by his conſent made a ſeparate peace; but he would not be active or perſonally concerned in it, ſaying, that when he made a peace, it ſhould be ſuch an one as would be uſeful and honourable to himſelf, and to the king of Great Britain: but he has not as yet propoſed his terms.

In 1763, when Major Rogers went to throw proviſions into the garriſon at Detroit, he ſent this Indian a bottle of brandy by a Frenchman. His counſellors adviſed him not to taſte it, inſinuating that it was poiſoned, and ſent with a deſign to kill him: but Ponteack, with a nobleneſs of mind, laughed at their ſuſpicions, ſaying it was not in the Major's power to kill him, who had ſo lately ſaved the Major's life.

In the late war of his, he appointed a commiſſary, and began to make money, or bills of credit, which he hath ſince punctually redeemed. His money was the figure of what he wanted in exchange for it, drawn upon bark, and the ſhape of an otter (his arms) drawn under it. Were proper meaſures taken, this Indian might be rendered very ſerviceable to the Britiſh trade and ſettlements in this country, more extenſively ſo than any one that hath ever been in alliance with us on the continent.

The language of almoſt all the Indians to the northward, is undoubtedly derived either from that of the Five Nations or the Ottawawas; and any one who is maſter of theſe two tongues, may make himſelf thoroughly underſtood by upwards of 100 tribes of Indians; for though each tribe has ſome peculiarities in their language, no great difficulty ariſes therefrom in converſation.

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The Mohock dialect is the moſt copious, pathetic, and noble. Their lips ſcarcely move through a whole ſpeech. Their language, it is true, is in many reſpects very deficient, as they have few words expreſſive of our abſtracted ideas; for before their acquaintance with us they talked about few things that were not preſent and ſenſible.

It is very diſagreeable travelling with them, on account of their being enemies to converſation; for they not only never ſpeak themſelves but when neceſſity obliges them, but are diſpleaſed with their company if they talk or converſe upon a march by land, or a voyage by water. Among the Chickeſaws, Creeks, Cherokees, and others to the ſouthward, you will find a conjuror in almoſt every village, who pretends to great things, both in politics and phyſic. The conjuror, to prepare himſelf for theſe exploits, takes a ſound ſweat in a ſtove, and directly after it plunges into a river or lake, be it ever ſo cold. But the principal employment of theſe artiſts, is the practice of phyſic and ſurgery. The Indians have few diſtempers among them, in compariſon of what we have: and they certainly have remedies that ſeldom fail in many diſorders of their deſired effect; particularly in the palſy, dropſy, and the venereal diſorder. They frequently make uſe of cupping and phlebotomy; but their moſt univerſal remedy is ſweating, and the cold bath immediately after it. They very often take a ſweat by way of refreſhment, to compoſe their minds, and to enable them to ſpeak with greater fluency in public. Whether the patient lives or dies, the worthy doctor is ſure to ſave his credit; for when he ſees all hope of recovery paſt, he never fails to preſcribe ſomething that cannot be procured or performed, pretending it to be indiſpenſibly neceſſary, and in the preſent caſe infallible.

The ſavages who inhabit, or rather wander upon the coaſts of Labrador, about the gulf of St. Lawrence, and the ſtraits of Belleiſle, bear very little reſemblance

ſemblance to any of the other Indians in America. They wander in large parties, are great cowards; their horrid appearance is the chief thing to be feared from them: they muffle themſelves up in ſuch manner as almoſt conceals their faces, their ſhirts terminating in a kind of hood about their head, and at top comes out a tuft of hair that hangs over their foreheads; their coat hangs behind as low as their thighs, and terminates before in a point a little below their girdle; from their girdle hangs a border of trinkets, ſhells, bones, &c. Their chief cloathing are ſkins and furs, which they put on one over another, to a great number; notwithſtanding which heavy dreſs they appear to be ſupple and active. They are governed by the old men of each tribe, who form a kind of ſenate. Our acquaintance with the Siaux, Nippiſſongs, and other northern Indians, is yet but very ſlender; but, by the accounts we have, they are idle, ſavage, cruel, and beaſtly, beyond any other nations on the continent.

The bark-canoes, uſed by the Indians, ſeem for their curious workmanſhip to deſerve particular notice. They are made of two kinds of bark, viz. elm and birch. Thoſe made of elm are generally ſhorter than the others, and not ſo neatly conſtructed. The birch-canoes are uſed by the Engliſh as well as the Indians upon the inland lakes and rivers: they diſtend the bark, which is very thick, upon a frame of cedar or pine; between the bark and the frame they put ſmall ſplinters, which help to ſtiffen and ſtrengthen the canoe. The two ends riſe gradually, and terminate in ſharp points exactly alike. He that ſits behind ſteers, and he that is forward looks out to prevent their running foul of any thing that might damage the veſſel. They ſit flat on the bottom, or kneel upon it: their paddles are five or ſix feet in length, and are in general made of maple. When they go againſt a current, they uſe ſetting poles; but in doing this great care muſt be taken to preſerve an equili-

equilibrium; the canoes being very light, are eaſily overſet.

The bark ribs and bars are ſewed together with ſpruce or pine roots, ſplit to a ſuitable ſize, which are more pliant, and do not dry ſo quick as the elm-bark. All the ſeams are beſmeared with gum, inſide and out, and every day they examine them. A large canoe will carry twelve men, and ſome of them more. Among all the ſavages the Ottawawas are the beſt builders.

The Indians, in the months of February and March, extract the juice from the maple-tree, which is wholeſome and delicious to the palate. The way they extract it is by cutting a notch in the body of the tree, and, by means of a piece of wood or quill, convey the juice from the tree to a veſſel placed to receive it. The liquor is as clear as ſpring-water, and is very refreſhing. It is accounted a very good pectoral, and was never known to hurt any one, though he drank ever ſo freely of it. This liquor will not freeze, but, when kept any time, becomes excellent vinegar. The Indians, by boiling it, make from it a kind of ſugar, which has a taſte very much like honey, but is milder: A manufactory of this kind of ſugar is begun in the province of New York, near South Bay, which is ſaid to anſwer very well; and produces conſiderable quantities of powder and loaf-ſugar.

Major Rogers next proceeds to give an account of ſome of the animals in North America; among which the Beaver is deſerving of the firſt notice. This animal was not unknown in Europe before the diſcovery of America. It is an amphibious quadruped, that continues not long at a time in the water, but yet cannot live without frequently bathing in it. A large beaver will weigh 60 or 70 lb. Their colour is different, according to the country they are taken in. To the northward they are quite black, and to the ſouthward they are almoſt white; and in the country

of the Illinois they are almoſt the colour of the deer; but it is obſerved, that the lighter their colour, the leſs valuable is their fur.

The beaver lives to a great age: the females generally bring forth four young ones at a time. Its jaws are furniſhed with two cutters and eight grinders. The upper jaw projects over the lower one; the head ſhaped like the head of a rat, and is ſmall in proportion to the body; its ſnout long; its eyes are ſmall and ſhort, and round and ſhaggy on the outſide, but have no hair within. Its fore-feet are not more than five or ſix inches long, the nails indented, and hollow like a quill; the hind-feet are flat, and webbed between the toes like thoſe of a duck. They walk very ſlow, but ſwim faſt; the tail is ſhaped like the blade of a paddle, four inches broad where it joins the body, five or ſix in the middle, and three at the extremity; about an inch thick, and a foot long: and there is no fleſh, fowl, or fiſh, that is more agreeable to the palate and the ſtomach than this part of the beaver. It is covered with a ſcaley ſkin, the ſcales being near a quarter of an inch long, and fold over each other like thoſe of a fiſh.

The muſk bags or caſtor taken from theſe animals is of great uſe among druggiſts, but it is ſaid are not ſo good in America as in Ruſſia. The Indians uſe them in many diſorders. They dreſs themſelves in mantles made of their ſkins, which after they have worn for ſome time grow more valuable, for the long hair drops off, and the fur remains more fit for the hat-makers uſe than when raw or freſh taken.

The induſtry, foreſight, and good management among theſe animals is very ſurpriſing, and ſcarcely credible to thoſe who never ſaw them. When they make a ſettlement, three, four, or more, aſſemble together, and firſt agree upon a place where they may have proviſions (which is the bark of trees, lilly-roots, or graſs) and every thing neceſſary for erecting their edifices, which muſt be ſurrounded with water; and

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if there is neither lake nor pond convenient, they make one by ſtopping the courſe of ſome river or brook with a dam. For this end, they cut down trees above the place they are reſolved to build at; and they always take their meaſures ſo well, as to make the tree fall toward the water, that they may have the leſs diſtance to roll it when cut to pieces. This done, they float them down to the place appointed, and theſe pieces they cut as the caſe requires. Sometimes they uſe the trunks of large trees, which they lay flat in the water; at others, they faſten ſtakes in the bottom of the channel, and then interweave ſmall branches, and fill up the vacancies with clay, mud and moſs, in ſuch manner as renders it very tight and ſecure. The conſtruction of their houſes is no leſs artful and ingenious; they are generally built upon piles in their ponds, at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, but ſometimes upon the banks of rivers; their form is round, with a flat roof; the walls two feet or more thick, and built of the ſame materials as their dams. Every part is ſo well finiſhed that no air can poſſibly enter; about two-thirds of the edifice is raiſed above the water, and in this they lodge, having the floor ſtrewed with ſplinters, &c. to render the lodging comfortable, and they are very careful to keep it clean. They have generally three or four different avenues to each houſe, but all their doors are under water. As faſt as they peel off the bark from the billets of wood laid up for their ſubſiſtence, they convey them to their dam to ſtrengthen that, or elſe pile them on the tops of their houſes, and faſten them there with mud. They lodge ſeveral in a houſe together.

Theſe animals are never found unprovided, by a ſudden and unexpected approach of winter; all their buſineſs is compleated by the end of September, and their ſtores laid in. They lay up their proviſions in piles near their houſes in ſuch a manner that it keeps under the water fit for their uſe, the but-ends being

faſtened in the mud or clay at the bottom, ſo that the current cannot carry it away. When the ſnows melt and raiſe the ſtream, they leave their houſes till the ſeaſon returns for repairing them, or for building new ones, which is the month of July; when they re-aſſemble, or elſe form new aſſociations.

The Ground-Beaver, as they are called, conduct their affairs in a different manner; all the care they take is, to make a kind of covered way to the water. They are eaſily known from the others by their hair, which is much ſhorter. They are always very poor, the natural conſequence of their idleneſs. The Indians never hunt theſe but out of mere neceſſity.

The manner of hunting beaver is very ſimple and eaſy, for this animal has not ſtrength enough to defend itſelf. The Indians hunt them from November to April, in which ſeaſon their fur is the beſt. They either decoy them into traps, or ſhoot them; but the latter is very difficult, by reaſon of the quickneſs of their ſight and motion; and ſhould they happen to wound them mortally in the water, it is chance if they ever get them out.

They lay their traps in the paths frequented by the beaver, and bait them with freſh cut poplar boughs, of which they are very fond. Sometimes the Indians open the ice near the beaver-houſes, at which opening one ſtands, while another diſturbs the houſe; the beaver haſtens upon this to make his eſcape at the opening, and ſeldom fails of having his brains beat out the moment he raiſes his head above water.

The beaver which frequent the lakes, beſide their houſes in the water, have a kind of country-houſe, two or three hundred yards from it, and the Indians here hunt them from one to the other. When theſe animals diſcover an enemy of any kind, they haſten into the water, and give warning to their companions, by ſlapping the water with their tails, which may be heard at a conſiderable diſtance.

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The Muſk-Rat reſembles the beaver in every part, except its tail, which is round like a rat's. One of theſe animals weighs about five or ſix pounds; during the ſummer ſeaſon the male and female keep together, but ſeparate at the approach of winter, and each ſeek a ſhelter in ſome hollow tree, without laying up any proviſion.

Scarce any thing among the Indians is undertaken with greater ſolemnity than hunting the bear; and an alliance with a noted bear-hunter, who has killed ſeveral in one day, is more eagerly ſought after, than that of one who has rendered himſelf famous in war: the reaſon is, becauſe the chace ſupplies the family with both food and raiment. So expert are ſome of the Indians at paſſing through the woods and thickets, that they have run down the bears in autumn when they are fat, and then drove them with ſwitches to their towns.

The bears lodge, during the winter, either in hollow trees, or caves; they lay up no proviſion, and have no nouriſhment during this ſeaſon, but what they ſuck from their own claws; yet they retain both their ſtrength and fat without any ſenſible diminution.

The bear is not naturally fierce, unleſs when wounded, or oppreſſed with hunger. They run themſelves very poor in the month of July, and it is then ſomewhat dangerous to meet them.

The elk is near as large as a horſe, but reſembles the deer, and, like it, annually renews its horns. The Indians have a great veneration for this animal, and imagine that to dream of it portends good fortune and long life.

The elk delights in cold countries, feeding upon graſs in ſummer, and moſs buds, &c. in winter, when they herd together. It is dangerous to approach very near this animal when he is hunted, as he ſometimes ſprings furiouſly on his purſuers, and tramples them to pieces. To prevent this, the hunter throws his cloaths to him, and while the deluded animal ſpends

his fury on theſe, he takes proper meaſures to diſpatch him.

The Catamounts and wild-cats are great enemies to the elk, and often make a prey of him. He has no other way to diſengage himſelf from theſe, but by plunging into the water.

On the ſouth and weſt parts of the great lakes, and on both ſides of the Miſſiſſippi, the moſt noted hunt is that of the buffalo.

The hunters encompaſs as large a tract as they can, where they ſuppoſe the buffaloes are, and begin by ſetting fire to the graſs and leaves, and ſo as the fire advances towards the centre, they cloſe up nearer and nearer, by which means they generally ſlaughter all that happen to be thus incloſed. The buffalo is a large heavy animal, has ſhort, thick, crooked, black horns, and a large beard hanging from his muzzle and head, a part of which falls down by his eyes, and gives him a diſagreeable appearance: the back is rounding, covered with hair; on the other parts of the body is a kind of wool. Thoſe to the northward about Hudſon's bay have the beſt wool upon them, and in the greateſt abundance.

There are in this country ſome panthers, which prey upon almoſt every living thing that comes in their way. Their fleſh is white like veal, and agreeable to the palate, and their fur is valuable.

Here are likewiſe foxes of various colours, black, grey, red, and white, who by their craft and cunning make great havock among the water-fowl.

The ſkunck or pole-cat is very common, and is called by the Indians the ſtinking beaſt, on account of its emitting a diſagreeable ſavour to a conſiderable diſtance when purſued or diſturbed. It is about the ſize of a ſmall cat, has ſhining hair of a grey colour, with two white lines, that form an oval, on its back. The fur of this animal, with that of the ermin, otter, and martin, make up what they call the ſmall peltry. The ermin is about the ſize of the ſquirrel, its fur is extremely

extremely white, its tail long, and the tip of it as black as jet.

The martin, or ſable, lives principally among the mountains, is as long as a common cat, but very ſlender; the fur is very fine and valuable.

The oppoſum is a remarkable animal in this country, having under its belly a bag or falſe belly, in which they breed their young. And to this falſe belly they fly for ſhelter and protection in caſe of any alarm.

The porcupine is as large as a ſmall dog. Its quills are about two inches and a half long, white, and hollow, and very ſtrong, eſpecially on its back.

The ſavages make great uſe of theſe quills for ornamenting their cloaths, belts, arms, &c.

The mooſe is larger than a large horſe, and is one of the deer-kind, every year changing his horns; the colour of this animal is a dark brown, the hair coarſe. He has a mane like a horſe, a dewlap like a cow, a very large head, and a ſhort tail. During the ſummer he frequents bogs and ſwamps; in the winter, the north ſides of hills and mountains, where the ſun will not melt the ſnow. Their common pace of travelling is a trot, but when hunted are very ſwift.

An ABSTRACT of the ACCOUNT of COL. BOUQUET's EXPEDITION againſt the OHIO INDIANS, in 1764:

Publiſhed at PHILADELPHIA.

THE general peace, concluded between Great Britain, France and Spain, in the year 1762, although viewed in different lights by perſons variouſly affected in the mother country, was nevertheleſs univerſally conſidered as a moſt happy event in America. To behold the French, who had ſo long inſtigated and ſupported the Indians, in the moſt deſtructive wars and cruel depredations on our frontier ſettlements, at laſt compelled to cede all Canada, and reſtricted to the weſtern ſide of Miſſiſippi; was what had long been wiſhed, but ſcarcely hoped for. The preciſion with which our boundaries were expreſſed, admitted of no ground for future diſputes, and was matter of exultation to every one who underſtood and regarded the intereſt of theſe colonies. We had now the pleaſing proſpect of entire ſecurity from all moleſtation of the Indians, ſince French intrigues could no longer be employed to ſeduce, or French force to ſupport them.

Unhappily, however, this expectation was diſappointed. Our danger aroſe from that very quarter, in which we imagined ourſelves in the moſt perfect ſecurity; and juſt at the time when we concluded the Indians to be entirely awed, and almoſt ſubjected by our

our power, they ſuddenly fell upon the frontiers of our moſt valuable ſettlements, and upon all our outlying forts, with ſuch unanimity in the deſign, and with ſuch ſavage fury in the attack, as had not been experienced, even in the hotteſt times of any former war.

Several reaſons have been aſſigned for this perfidious conduct on their part; but the true reaſon ſeems to have been a jealouſy of our growing power, heightened by their ſeeing the French almoſt wholly driven out of America, and a number of forts now poſſeſſed by us, which commanded the great lakes and rivers communicating with them, and awed the whole Indian country.

The Shawaneſe, Delawares, and other Ohio tribes, took the lead in this war; and ſeem to have begun it too precipitately, before the other tribes in confederacy with them, were ready for action. Their ſcheme appears to have been projected with much deliberate miſchief in the intention, and more than uſual ſkill in the ſyſtem of execution. They were to make one general and ſudden attack upon our frontier ſettlements in the time of harveſt, to deſtroy our men, corn, cattle, &c. as far as they could penetrate, and to ſtarve our out-poſts, by cutting off their ſupplies, and all communication with the inhabitants of the provinces.

In purſuance of this bold and bloody project, they fell ſuddenly upon our traders, whom they had invited into their country, murdered many of them, and made one general plunder of their effects, to an immenſe value. The frontiers of Penſylvania, Maryland and Virginia, were immediately over-run with ſcalping parties, marking their way with blood and devaſtation wherever they came; and all thoſe examples of ſavage cruelty which never fail to accompany an Indian war. All our out-forts, even at the remoteſt diſtances, were attacked about the ſame time; and many of them ſoon fell into the enemies hands.

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The news of their ſurrender, and the continued ravages of the enemy, ſtruck all America with conſternation, and depopulated a great part of our frontiers: moſt of thoſe poſts were ſuddenly wreſted from us, which had been the great object of the late war, and one of the principal advantages acquired by the peace. Only the forts of Niagara, the Detroit, and Fort Pitt, remained in our hands, of all that had been purchaſed with ſo much blood and treaſure. But theſe were places of conſequence, and we hope it will ever remain an argument of their importance, and of the attention that ſhould be paid to their future ſupport, that they alone continued to awe the whole power of the Indians, and balanced the fate of the war between them and us! Theſe forts, being larger, were better garriſoned and ſupplied to ſtand a ſiege of ſome length, than the places that fell. Niagara was not attacked, the enemy judging it too ſtrong.

The Indians had early ſurrounded Fort Pitt, and cut off all communication from it, even by meſſage. Though they had no cannon, nor underſtood the methods of a regular ſiege, yet, with an incredible boldneſs, they poſted themſelves under the banks of both rivers † by the walls of the fort, and continued as it were buried there, from day to day, with aſtoniſhing patience; pouring an inceſſant ſtorm of muſquetry and fire arrows: hoping at length, by famine, by fire, or by haraſſing out the garriſon, to carry their point.

Fort Pitt remained in a moſt critical ſituation. No account could be obtained from the garriſon, nor any relief ſent to it, but by a long and tedious land march of near 200 miles beyond the ſettlements; and through thoſe dangerous paſſes where the fate of Braddock and others ſtill riſes on the imagination.

Colonel Bouquet was appointed to march to the relief of this fort, with a large quantity of military

† The Ohio and Monongahela, at the junction of which ſtands Fort Pitt.

ſtores

ſtores and proviſions, eſcorted by the ſhattered remainder of the 42d and 77th regiments, lately returned in a diſmal condition from the Weſt Indies, and far from being recovered of their fatigues at the ſiege of the Havannah. General Amherſt, having at that time no other troops to ſpare, was obliged to employ them in a ſervice which would have required men of the ſtrongeſt conſtitution and vigour.

Thoſe who have only experienced the ſeverities and dangers of a campaign in Europe, can ſcarcely form an idea of what is to be done and endured in an American war. To act in a country cultivated and inhabited, where roads are made, magazines are eſtabliſhed, and hoſpitals provided; where there are good towns to retreat to in caſe of misfortune; or, at the worſt, a generous enemy to yield to, from whom no conſolation, but the honour of victory, can be wanting; this may be conſidered as the exerciſe of a ſpirited and adventurous mind, rather than a rigid conteſt where all is at ſtake, and mutual deſtruction the object: and as a contention between rivals for glory, rather than a real ſtruggle between ſanguinary enemies. But in an American campaign every thing is terrible; the face of the country, the climate, the enemy. There is no refreſhment for the healthy, nor relief for the ſick. A vaſt unhoſpitable deſart, unſafe and treacherous, ſurrounds them, where victories are not deciſive, but defeats are ruinous; and ſimple death is the leaſt misfortune which can happen to them. This forms a ſervice truly critical, in which all the firmneſs of the body and mind is put to the ſevereſt trial; and all the exertions of courage and addreſs are called out. If the actions of theſe rude campaigns are of leſs dignity, the adventures in them are more intereſting to the heart, and more amuſing to the imagination, than the events of a regular war.

Early orders had been given to prepare a convoy of proviſions on the frontiers of Penſylvania; but ſuch were the univerſal terror and conſternation of the inhabitants,

habitants, that when Col. Bouquet arrived at Carliſle, nothing had yet been done. A great number of the plantations had been plundered and burnt by the ſavages; many of the mills deſtroyed, and full ripe crops ſtood waving in the field, ready for the ſickle, but the reapers were not to be found! The commander found that, inſtead of expecting ſuch ſupplies from a miſerable people, he himſelf was called by the voice of humanity to beſtow on them ſome ſhare of his own proviſions to relieve their preſent exigency. However, in 18 days after his arrival at Carliſle, by the prudent and active meaſures which he purſued, joined to his knowlege of the country, and the diligence of the perſons he employed, the convoy and carriages were procured with the aſſiſtance of the interior parts of the country, and the army proceeded.

Under ſo many diſcouraging circumſtances, the Colonel (deprived of all aſſiſtance from the provinces, and having none to expect from the General, who had ſent him the laſt man that could be removed from the hoſpitals) had nothing elſe to truſt to, but about 500 ſoldiers of approved courage and reſolution indeed, but infirm, and entire ſtrangers to the woods, and to this new kind of war. A number of them were even ſo weak, as not to be able to march; and ſixty were carried in waggons, to reinforce the garriſons of the ſmall poſts on the communication.

Meanwhile Fort Ligonier, ſituated beyond the Allegheney Mountains, was in the greateſt danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, before the army could reach it. The ſtockade being very bad, and the garriſon extremely weak, they had attacked it vigorouſly; but had been repulſed by the bravery and good conduct of lieutenant Blane, who commanded there.

Here the diſtreſſed families, ſcattered for 12 or 15 miles round, fled for protection, leaving moſt of their effects a prey to the ſavages.

The

The want of intelligence is often a very embarraſſing circumſtance in the conduct of a campaign in America. The Indians had better intelligence; and no ſooner were they informed of the march of our army, than they broke up the ſiege of Fort Pitt, and took the rout by which they knew we were to proceed, reſolved to take the firſt advantageous opportunity of an attack on the march.

When the army came within half a mile of Buſhy-Run, about one in the afternoon, (Auguſt 5, 1763) after an harraſſing march of ſeventeen miles, and juſt as they were expecting to relax from their fatigue, they were ſuddenly attacked by the Indians, on their advanced guard; which being ſpeedily and firmly ſupported, the enemy was beat off, and even purſued to a conſiderable diſtance.

But the flight of theſe barbarians muſt often be conſidered as a part of the engagement, rather than a dereliction of the field. The moment the purſuit ended, they returned with renewed vigour to the attack; and as ſoon as they were driven from one poſt, they ſtill appeared on another: till, by conſtant reinforcements, they were at length able to ſurround the whole detachment, and attack the convoy which had been left in the rear. But the ſteady behaviour of the Engliſh troops, who were not thrown into the leaſt confuſion by the very diſcouraging nature of this ſervice, in the end prevailed; they repulſed the enemy, and drove them from all their poſts with fixed bayonets.

The ground, on which the action ended, was not altogether inconvenient for an encampment. The convoy and the wounded were in the middle, and the troops, diſpoſed in a circle, incompaſſed the whole. In this manner, and with little repoſe, they paſſed an anxious night, obliged to the ſtricteſt vigilance by an enterpriſing enemy who had ſurrounded them.

At the firſt dawn of light the ſavages began to declare themſelves, all about the camp, at the diſtance

of about 500 yards; and by ſhouting and yelling in the moſt horrid manner, endeavoured to ſtrike terror by an oſtentation of their numbers, and their ferocity.

After this alarming preparative, they attacked our forces; and, under the favour of an inceſſant fire, made ſeveral bold efforts to penetrate into the camp. They were repulſed in every attempt, but by no means diſcouraged from new ones. Our troops, continually victorious, were continually in danger. They were beſide extreamly fatigued with a long march, with the equally long action, of the preceding day; and were diſtreſſed to the laſt degree by a total want of water, much more intolerable than the enemy's fire. Tied to their convoy, they could not loſe ſight of it for a moment, without expoſing, not only that intereſting object, but their wounded men, to fall a prey to the ſavages, who preſſed them on every ſide. To move was impracticable. Many of the horſes were loſt, and many of the drivers, ſtupified by their fears, hid themſelves in the buſhes, and were incapable of hearing or obeying orders.

The commander was ſenſible that every thing depended upon bringing the ſavages to a cloſe engagement, and to ſtand their ground when attacked. For that purpoſe he contrived the following ſtratagem. Our troops were poſted on an eminence, and formed a circle round their convoy from the preceding night, which order they ſtill retained. Col. Bouquet gave directions, that two companies of his troops, who had been poſted in the moſt advanced ſituations, ſhould fall within the circle; the troops on the right and left immediately opened their files, and filled up the vacant ſpace, that they might ſeem to cover their retreat. Another company of light infantry, with one of grenadiers, were ordered to lie in ambuſcade, to ſupport the two firſt companies of grenadiers, who moved on the feigned retreat, and were intended to begin the real attack. The ſavages gave entirely into the ſnare. The barbarians, who miſtook thoſe motions for a retreat, abandoned the woods which co-

vered them, hurried headlong on, and advancing with the moſt daring intrepidity, galled the Engliſh troops with their heavy fire. But at the very moment when, certain of ſucceſs, they thought themſelves maſters of the camp, the two firſt companies made a ſudden turn, and ſallying out from a part of the hill, which could not be obſerved, fell furiouſly upon their right flank. Then it was the ſuperiority of combined ſtrength and diſcipline appeared. On the ſecond charge they could no longer ſuſtain the irreſiſtible ſhock of the regular troops, who ruſhing upon them, killed many, and put the reſt to flight. At the inſtant, when the ſavages betook themſelves to flight, the other two companies, which had been ordered to ſupport the firſt, roſe from the ambuſcade, marched to the enemy, and gave them their full fire. This accompliſhed their defeat. The four companies now united, did not give them time to look behind them, but purſued the enemy till they were totally diſperſed. The other bodies of the ſavages attempted nothing. They were kept in awe during the engagement by the reſt of the Britiſh troops, who were ſo poſted as to be ready to fall on them upon the leaſt motion. Having been witneſs to the defeat of their companions, without any effort to ſupport or aſſiſt them, they at length followed their example and fled.

This judicious and ſucceſsful manœuvre reſcued the party from the moſt imminent danger. The victory ſecured the field, and cleared all the adjacent woods. But ſtill the march was ſo difficult, and the army had ſuffered ſo much, and ſo many horſes were loſt, that before they were able to proceed, they were reluctantly obliged to deſtroy ſuch part of their convoy of proviſions as they could not carry with them for want of horſes. Being lightened by this ſacrifice, they proceeded to Buſhy-Run, where finding water, they encamped.

The ſavages, thus ſignally defeated in all their attempts to cut off this reinforcement upon its march, began to retreat with the utmoſt precipitation to their

remote ſettlements, wholly giving up their deſigns againſt Fort Pitt; at which place Col. Bouquet arrived ſafe with his convoy, four days after the action.

Colonel Bouquet not having a ſufficient number of troops to garriſon the different poſts, under his command, and at the ſame time to croſs the Ohio and take advantage of the dejection into which he had thrown the enemy, by the defeat at Buſhy-Run; was obliged to reſtrain his operations to the ſupplying the forts with proviſions, ammunition and other neceſſaries.

In the execution of this ſervice, he received no annoyance from the enemy; for they now ſaw themſelves, not only forced to give up their deſigns againſt Fort Pitt, but, retreating beyond the Ohio, they deſerted their former towns, and abandoned all the country between Preſque-Iſle and Sanduſki; not thinking themſelves ſafe till they arrived at Muſkingam. Here they began to form new ſettlements, and remained quiet during the winter. But, in the mean time, having ſupplied themſelves with powder, &c. from the French traders, (and now flattering themſelves that the great diſtance of their ſettlements would render them inacceſſible to our troops) the enſuing ſpring, 1764, preſented theſe ſavage enemies afreſh on our frontiers; ravaging and murdering with their uſual barbarity.

To chaſtiſe them for their perfidy, General Gage reſolved to attack them on two different ſides, and to force them from our frontiers; by carrying the war into the heart of their own country. With this view, he deſtined a corps of troops to proceed under Col. Bradſtreet, to act againſt the Wiandots, Ottawas, Chipwas, and other nations, living upon or near the lakes; while another corps, under the command of Colonel Bouquet, ſhould attack the Delawares, Shawaneſe, Mingoes, Mohickons, and other nations, between the Ohio and the lakes. Theſe two corps were to act in concert; and as that of Colonel Bradſtreet could be ready much ſooner than the other, he was to proceed to Detroit, Michilimackinac and other places.

places. On his return, he was to encamp and remain at Sanduſki, to awe, by that poſition, the numerous tribes of weſtern Indians, ſo as to prevent their ſending any aſſiſtance to the Ohio Indians, while Colonel Bouquet ſhould execute his plan of attacking them in the heart of their ſettlements.

Colonel Bouquet aſſumed the command of the regular and provincial troops; and gave the moſt expreſs orders to the officers and men to obſerve ſtrict diſcipline, and not to commit the leaſt violation of the civil rights or peace of the inhabitants. He, at the ſame time, made the moſt prudent regulations for a ſafe and commodious carriage of the baggage, taking care to rid himſelf of all unneceſſary incumbrances.

Nothing material happened in their march, from Fort Loudoun to Fort Pitt, (formerly Fort Du Queſne) on the Ohio, three hundred and twenty miles weſt from Philadelphia; at which place Col. Bouquet arrived the 17th of September.

While Col. Bouquet was at Fort Loudoun, he received diſpatches by expreſs from Colonel Bradſtreet, dated from Preſque-Iſle, Auguſt 14th, acquainting him that he (Colonel Bradſtreet) had concluded a peace with the Delawares and Shawaneſe: but Colonel Bouquet perceiving clearly that they were not ſincere in their intentions, as they continued their murders and depredations; he determined to proſecute his plan without remiſſion, till he could receive farther inſtructions from General Gage; who, upon the ſame principles refuſed to ratify the treaty.

About the time of Colonel Bouquet's arrival at Fort Pitt, ten Indians appeared on the north ſide of the Ohio, deſiring a conference; which ſtratagem the ſavages had made uſe of before, to obtain intelligence of our numbers and intentions. Three of the party conſented, though with apparent reluctance, to come over to the fort; and as they could give no ſatisfactory reaſon for their viſit, they were detained as ſpies, and their aſſociates fled back to their towns.

On the 20th of September, Colonel Bouquet ſent one of the above three Indians after them with a meſſage, in ſubſtance as follows—" I have received an account from Colonel Bradſtreet, that your nations had begged for peace, which he had conſented to grant, upon aſſurance that you had recalled all your warriors from our frontiers; and in conſequence thereof, I would not have proceeded againſt your towns, if I had not heard that, in open violation of your engagements, you have ſince murdered ſeveral of our people.

" As ſoon as the reſt of the army joins me, which I expect immediately, I was therefore determined to have attacked you, as a people whoſe promiſes can no more be relied on. But I will put it once more in your power to ſave yourſelves and your families from total deſtruction, by giving us ſatisfaction for the hoſtilities committed againſt us. And firſt, you are to leave the path open for my expreſſes from hence to Detroit; and as I am now to ſend two men with diſpatches to Colonel Bradſtreet, who commands on the lakes, I deſire to know whether you will ſend two of your people with them to bring them ſafe back with an anſwer? And if they receive any injury either in going or coming, or if the letters are taken from them, I will immediately put the Indians now in my power to death, and will ſhew no mercy for the future to any of your nations that ſhall fall into my hands. I allow you ten days to have my letters delivered at Detroit, and ten days to bring me back an anſwer."

He added, " that he had lately had it in his power, while they remained on the other ſide of the river, to have put their whole party to death, which puniſhment they had deſerved by their former treachery; and that if they did not improve the clemency now offered to them, by returning back as ſoon as poſſible with all their priſoners, they might expect to feel the full weight of a juſt vengeance and reſentment."—

Colonel Bouquet, having at length, with great dif-

ficulty, collected his troops, formed his magazines, and provided for the ſafety of the poſts he was to leave behind him, was ready on the 2d of October to proceed from Fort Pitt, with about 1500 men, including drivers and other neceſſary followers of the army. A juſt idea of the conduct of this expedition, and the great caution taken to prevent ſurprize, will be beſt underſtood from the order of march hereafter explained, with a copper-plate for the illuſtration of it.

All things being ſettled, the army decamped from Fort Pitt on Wedneſday October 3d, and continued their march through a fine country, meeting only with a few deſerted towns by the way, until Sunday 14th, when the army remained in camp; and two men who had been diſpatched by Colonel Bouquet from Fort Pitt, with letters for Colonel Bradſtreet, returned and reported, that, within a few miles of this place, they had been made priſoners by the Delawares, and carried to one of their towns ſixteen miles from hence, where they were kept, till the ſavages, knowing of the arrival of the army here, ſet them at liberty, ordering them to acquaint the Colonel, that the head men of the Delawares and Shawaneſe were coming as ſoon as poſſible to treat of peace with him.

On the 16th, ſix Indians came to inform the Colonel that all their chiefs were aſſembled about eight miles from the camp, and were ready to treat with him of a peace, which they were earneſtly deſirous of obtaining. He returned for anſwer, that he would meet them the next day in a bower at ſome diſtance from the camp. In the mean time, he ordered a ſmall ſtockaded fort to be built, to depoſite proviſions for the uſe of the troops on their return; and to lighten the convoy.

As ſeveral large bodies of Indians were now within a few miles of the camp, whoſe former inſtances of treachery, made it prudent to truſt nothing to their

ſſions; the ſtricteſt orders were repeated to pre- a ſurpriſe.

Wedneſday 17th. The Colonel with moſt of the regular troops, Virginia volunteers and light horſe, marched from the camp to the bower erected for the congreſs. And ſoon after the troops were ſtationed, ſo as to appear to the beſt advantage, the Indians arrived, and were conducted to the bower. Being ſeated, they began, in a ſhort time, to ſmoak their pipe or calumet, agreeable to their cuſtom. This ceremony being over, their ſpeakers laid down their pipes, and opened their pouches, wherein were ſtrings and belts of wampum. The Indians preſent were,

SENECAS. Kiyaſhuta, chief, with 15 warriors.

DELAWARES. Cuſtaloga chief of the Wolſe-tribe, Beaver, chief of the Turky-tribe, with 20 warriors.

SHAWANESE. Keiſſinautchtha, a chief, and 6 warriors.—Kiyaſhuta, Turtle-Heart, Cuſtaloga and Beaver, were the ſpeakers.

The general ſubſtance of what they had to offer, conſiſted in excuſes for their late treachery and miſconduct; throwing the blame on the raſhneſs of their young men, and the nations living to the weſtward of them: ſuing for peace in the moſt abject manner, and promiſing ſeverally to deliver up all their priſoners. After they had concluded, the Colonel promiſed to give them an anſwer the next day, and then diſmiſſed them, the army returning to the camp.—The badneſs of the weather, however, prevented his meeting them again till the 20th, when he ſpoke to them in ſubſtance as follows, viz.

"That their pretences to palliate their guilt by throwing the blame on the weſtern nations, and the raſhneſs of their young men, were weak and frivolous; as it was in our power to have protected them againſt all theſe nations, if they had ſolicited our aſſiſtance: and that it was their own duty to have chaſtiſed their young men when they did wrong, and not to ſuffer themſelves to be directed by them."

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He recapitulated to them many inſtances of their former perfidy—" their killing or captivating the traders who had been ſent among them at their own requeſt, and plundering their effects;—their attacking Fort Pitt, which had been built with their expreſs conſent;—their murdering four men that had been ſent on a public meſſage to them, thereby violating the cuſtoms held ſacred among all nations, however barbarous;——their attacking the king's troops laſt year in the woods, and after being defeated in that attempt, falling upon our frontiers, where they had continued to murder our people to this day, &c."

He told them how treacherouſly they had violated even their late engagements with Colonel Bradſtreet, to whom they had promiſed to deliver up their priſoners by the 10th of September laſt; and to recall all their warriors from the frontiers: which they had been ſo far from complying with, that the priſoners ſtill remained in their cuſtody, and ſome of their people were even now continuing their depredations: adding, that theſe things which he had mentioned, were only " a ſmall part of their numberleſs murders and breaches of faith; and that their conduct had always been equally perfidious.——" You have, ſaid he, promiſed at every former treaty, as you do now, that you would deliver up all your priſoners, and have received every time, on that account, conſiderable preſents; but have never complied with that or any other engagement. I am now to tell you, therefore, that we will be no longer impoſed upon by your promiſes. This army ſhall not leave your country till you have fully complied with every condition that is to precede my treaty with you.

" I have brought with me the relations of the people you have maſſacred, or taken priſoners. They are impatient for revenge; and it is with great difficulty that I can protect you againſt their juſt reſentment, which is only reſtrained by the aſſurances given

them, that no peace ſhall ever be concluded till you have given us full ſatisfaction."—

"Your former allies, the Ottawas, Chipwas, Wyandots, and others, have made their peace with us. The Six Nations have joined us againſt you. We now ſurround you, having poſſeſſion of all the waters of the Ohio, the Miſſiſippi, the Miamis, and the lakes. All the French living in thoſe parts are now ſubjects to the king of Great Britain, and dare no longer aſſiſt you. It is therefore in our power totally to extirpate you from being a people——But the Engliſh are a merciful and generous nation, averſe to ſhed the blood, even of their moſt cruel enemies; and if it was poſſible that you could convince us, that you ſincerely repent of your paſt perfidy, and that we could depend on your good behaviour for the future; you might yet hope for mercy and peace ——If I find that you faithfully execute the following preliminary conditions, I will not treat you with the ſeverity you deſerve.

"I give you twelve days from this date to deliver into my hands at Wakautamike all the priſoners in your poſſeſſion, without any exception; Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, women and children; whether adopted in your tribes, married, or living amongſt you under any denomination and pretence whatſoever; together with all negroes. And you are to furniſh the ſaid priſoners with cloathing, proviſions, and horſes, to carry them to Fort Pitt. When you have fully complied with theſe conditions, you ſhall then know on what terms you may obtain the peace you ſue for."

This ſpeech made an impreſſion on the minds of the ſavages, which, it is hoped, will not ſoon be eradicated. The firm and determined ſpirit with which the Colonel delivered himſelf, their conſciouſneſs of the aggravated injuries they had done us, and the view of the ſame commander and army that had ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed them at Buſhy-Run the preceding year, now

advanced

advanced into the very heart of their remote ſettlements, after penetrating through wilderneſſes which they had deemed impaſſable by regular troops——all theſe things contributed to bend the haughty temper of the ſavages to the loweſt degree of abaſement: ſo that even their ſpeeches ſeem to exhibit but few ſpecimens of that ſtrong and ferocious eloquence, which their inflexible ſpirit of independency has on former occaſions inſpired. And though it is not to be doubted if an opportunity had offered, they would have fallen upon our army with their uſual fierceneſs; yet when they ſaw the vigilance and ſpirit of our troops were ſuch, that they could neither be attacked nor ſurprized with any proſpect of ſucceſs, their ſpirits ſeemed to revolt from the one extreme of inſolent boldneſs, to the other of abject timidity.

The two Delaware chiefs, at the cloſe of their ſpeech on the 17th, delivered eighteen white priſoners, and eighty-three ſmall ſticks, expreſſing the number of other priſoners which they had in their poſſeſſion; and promiſed to bring in as ſoon as poſſible. None of the Shawaneſe kings appeared at the congreſs; and Keiſſinautchtha their deputy declined ſpeaking until the Colonel had anſwered the Delawares; and then with a dejected ſullenneſs he promiſed, in behalf of his nation, that they would ſubmit to the terms preſcribed to the other tribes.

The Colonel, however, determined to march farther into their country, knowing that the preſence of his army would be the beſt ſecurity for the performance of their promiſes; and required ſome of each nation to attend him on his march.

Kiyaſhuta addreſſed the ſeveral nations, before their departure, "deſiring them to be ſtrong in complying with their engagements, that they might wipe away the reproach of their former breach of faith, and convince their brothers the Engliſh that they could ſpeak the truth; adding that he would conduct the army to the place appointed for receiving the priſoners."

Monday,

Monday, October 22d. The army, attended by the Indian deputies, proceeded forward, and on Thurſday arrived at a camp ſituated within a mile of the forks of Muſkingham; and this place was fixed upon inſtead of Wakautamike, as the moſt central and convenient place to receive the priſoners: for the principal Indian towns now lay round them, diſtant from ſeven to twenty miles; excepting only the lower Shawaneſe town ſituated on Scioto river, which was about eighty miles. So that from this place the army had it in their power to awe all the enemy's ſettlements and deſtroy their towns, if they ſhould not punctually fulfil the engagements they had entered into.—Four redoubts were built here oppoſite to the four angles of the camp; the ground in the front was cleared, a ſtore-houſe for the proviſions erected; and likewiſe a houſe to receive, and treat of peace with, the Indians, when they ſhould return. Three houſes with ſeparate apartments were alſo raiſed, for the reception of the captives of the reſpective provinces, and proper officers appointed to take charge of them, with a matron to attend the women and children; ſo that with the officers meſs-houſes, ovens, &c. this camp had the appearance of a little town, in which the greateſt order and regularity were obſerved.

From this time to November 9th, was chiefly ſpent in ſending and receiving meſſages to and from the Indian towns, relative to the priſoners; who were now coming into the camp in ſmall parties, as the different nations arrived in whoſe poſſeſſion they had been. The Colonel kept ſo ſtedfaſtly to this article of having every priſoner delivered, that when the Delaware kings, Beaver and Cuſtaloga, had brought in all theirs except twelve, which they promiſed to bring in a few days, he refuſed to ſhake hands or have the leaſt talk with them, while a ſingle captive remained among them.

By the 9th of November, moſt of the priſoners were arrived that could be expected this ſeaſon, amounting

amounting to 206 in the whole; beſide about 100 more in the poſſeſſion of the Shawaneſe, which they promiſed to deliver the following ſpring: for many of their principal men, to whom they belonged, were gone to trade with the French, and would not return for ſix weeks; but every one of their nation who were at home, either brought or ſent theirs. On the army's firſt coming into the country, it had been reported among the Shawaneſe that our intention was to deſtroy them all; on which they had reſolved to kill their priſoners and fight us: and a French trader, who was with them, and had many barrels of powder and ball, made them a preſent of the whole, as ſoon as they had come to this reſolution; but, happily for the poor captives, juſt as the Shawaneſe were preparing to execute this tragedy, they received the Colonel's meſſage, informing them, that his intentions were only to receive the priſoners, and to make peace with them on the ſame terms he ſhould give to the Delawares.

On this intelligence, they ſuſpended their cruel purpoſe, and began to collect as many of the priſoners as they had power to deliver; but hearing immediately afterward, that one of our ſoldiers had been killed near the camp at Muſkingham, and that ſome of their nation were ſuſpected as guilty of the muder; they again imagined they would fall under our reſentment, and therefore determined once more to ſtand out againſt us. For which purpoſe, after having brought their priſoners as far as Wakautamike, where they heard this news, they collected them all into a field, and were going to kill them: when a ſecond expreſs providentially arrived from Colonel Bouquet, who aſſured them that their nation was not even ſuſpected of having any concern in the aforeſaid murder; upon which they proceeded to the camp to deliver up the captives, who had thus twice ſo narrowly eſcaped becoming the victims of their barbarity.

On

On Friday, November 9th, the Colonel, attended by moſt of the principal officers, went to the conference-houſe. The Senecas and Delawares were firſt treated with. Kiyaſhuta and ten warriors repreſented the former: Cuſtaloga and twenty warriors the latter.

Kiyaſhuta ſpoke—"With this ſtring of wampum, we wipe the tears from your eyes—we deliver you theſe three priſoners, which are the laſt of your fleſh and blood that remained among the Senecas and Cuſtaloga's tribe of Delawares; we gather together and bury with this belt † all the bones of the people that have been killed during this unhappy war, which the Evil Spirit occaſioned among us. We cover the bones that have been buried, that they may be never more remembered—We again cover their place with leaves, that it may be no more ſeen.—As we have been long aſtray, and the path between you and us ſtopped, we extend this belt that it may be again cleared, and we may travel in peace to ſee our brethren as our anceſtors formerly did. While you hold it faſt by one end, and we by the other, we ſhall always be able to diſcover any thing that may diſturb our friendſhip."

The Colonel anſwered, that he had heard them with pleaſure; that he received theſe three laſt priſoners they had to deliver, and joined in burying the bones of thoſe who had fallen in the war, ſo that their place might be no more known. "The peace you aſk for, you ſhall now have. The king, my maſter and your father, has appointed me only to make war; but he has other ſervants who are employed in the work of peace. Sir William Johnſon is empowered for that purpoſe. To him you are to apply; but before I give you leave to go, two things are to be ſettled.

1. "As peace cannot be finally concluded here, you will deliver me two hoſtages for the Senecas, and

† A belt or ſtring is always delivered when thus mentioned.

two

two for Cuſtaloga's tribe, to remain in our hands at Fort Pitt, as a ſecurity, that you ſhall commit no further hoſtilities or violence againſt any of his majeſty's ſubjects: and when the peace is concluded, theſe hoſtages ſhall be delivered ſafe back to you.

2. "The deputies you are to ſend to Sir William Johnſon, muſt be fully impowered to treat for your tribes, and you ſhall engage to abide by whatever they ſtipulate. In that treaty, every thing concerning trade, and other matters, will be ſettled by Sir William, to render the peace everlaſting: and the deputies you are to ſend to him, as well as the hoſtages to be delivered to me, are to be named and preſented to me for my approbation."——

The Colonel, after promiſing to deliver back two of their people, captain Pipe, and captain John, whom he had detained at Fort Pitt, took the chiefs by the hand for the firſt time, which gave them great joy.

The next conference was on November 10th, with the Turky and Turtle tribes of Delawares, king Beaver their chief and thirty warriors repreſenting the former; and Kelappama, brother to the chief, with twenty warriors, the latter. The Senecas and Cuſtaloga's tribe of Delawares were alſo preſent. Their ſpeech, and the anſwer given, were much the ſame as above.

November 11th, king Beaver preſented ſix hoſtages to remain with Colonel Bouquet, and five deputies to treat with Sir William Johnſon, who were approved of. This day he acquainted the chiefs preſent, that as he had great reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the conduct of Nettowhatways, the chief of the Turtle tribe, who had not appeared, he therefore depoſed him; and that tribe were to chuſe and preſent another for his approbation. This they did a few days afterward——Smile not, reader, at this tranſaction: for though it may not be attended with ſo many ſplendid and flattering circumſtances to a commander, as the depoſing an Eaſt In-

dian

dian Nabob: yet, to penetrate into the wilderneſſes where theſe ſtern Weſt Indian Chieftains hold their ſway, and to frown them from their throne, though but compoſed of the unhewn log, will be found to require both reſolution and firmneſs; and their ſubmitting to it clearly ſhews to what degree of humiliation they were reduced. But to proceed—

The Shawaneſe ſtill remained to be treated with; and though this nation ſaw themſelves under the neceſſity of yielding to the ſame conditions with the other tribes, yet there had appeared a dilatorineſs and ſullen haughtineſs in all their conduct, which rendered it very ſuſpicious.

The 12th of November was appointed for the conference with them; which was managed on their part by Keiſſinautchtha and Nimwha their chiefs, with the Red Hawke, Laviſſimo, Benſivaſica, Eweecunwee, Keigleighque, and forty warriors: the Caughnawaga, Seneca and Delaware chiefs, with about ſixty warriors, being alſo preſent. The Red Hawke was their ſpeaker; and as he delivered himſelf with a ſtrange mixture of fierce pride, and humble ſubmiſſion, we ſhall add a paſſage or two from his ſpeech.

"BROTHER,

"You will liſten to us your younger brothers; and as we diſcover ſomething in your eyes that looks diſſatisfaction with us, we now wipe away every thing bad between us that you may clearly ſee—You have heard many bad ſtories of us—We clean your ears that you may hear—We remove every thing bad from your heart, that it may be like the heart of your anceſtors, when they thought of nothing but good." [Here he gave a ſtring.]

"Brother; when we ſaw you coming this road, you advanced toward us with a tomahawk in your hand; but we your younger brothers take it out of your hands, and throw it up to God † to diſpoſe of as

† Their uſual figure for making peace is burying the hatchet; *but as* ſuch hatchets may be dug up again, perhaps he thought this new

as he pleaſes: by which means we hope never to ſee it more. And now, brother, we beg leave, that you who are a warrior, will take hold of this chain (giving a ſtring) of friendſhip, and receive it from us, who are alſo warriors, and let us think no more of war, in pity to our old men, women and children"—Intimating, by this laſt expreſſion, that it was meer compaſſion to them, and not inability to fight, that made their nation deſire peace.

He then produced a treaty held with the government of Penſylvania, 1701, and three meſſages or letters from that government of different dates, and concluded thus——

"Now, brother, I beg, we who are warriors, may forget our diſputes; and renew the friendſhip which appears by theſe papers to have ſubſiſted between our fathers."—He promiſed, in behalf of the reſt of their nation, who were gone to a great diſtance to hunt, and could not have notice to attend the treaty, that they ſhould certainly come to Fort Pitt in the ſpring, and bring the remainder of the priſoners with them.

As the ſeaſon was far advanced, and the Colonel could not ſtay long in theſe remote parts, he was obliged to reſt ſatisfied with the priſoners the Shawaneſe had brought; taking hoſtages, and laying them under the ſtrongeſt obligations, for the delivery of the reſt: knowing that no other effectual method could at preſent be purſued.

And here a ſcene is to be entered upon, reſerved on purpoſe for this place, that the thread of the foregoing narrative might not be interrupted——a ſcene, which language indeed can but weakly deſcribe; and to which the poet or painter might have repaired to enrich their higheſt colourings of the variety of human paſſions: the philoſopher, to find ample ſubject

new expreſſion of "ſending it up to God, or the Good Spirit," a much ſtronger emblem of the permanency and ſtedfaſtneſs of the peace now to be made.

for his moſt ſerious reflections; and the man, to exerciſe all the tender and ſympathetic feelings of the ſoul. This ſcene was the arrival of the priſoners in the camp: where were to be ſeen fathers and mothers recognizing and claſping their once-loſt babes; huſbands hanging round the necks of their newly-recovered wives; ſiſters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together after long ſeparation, ſcarce able to ſpeak the ſame language, or, for ſome time, to be ſure that they were children of the ſame parents! In all theſe interviews, joy and rapture inexpreſſible were ſeen; while feelings of a very different nature were painted in the looks of others. The Indians too, as if wholly forgetting their uſual ſavageneſs, bore a capital part in heightening this affecting ſcene; they delivered up their beloved captives with the utmoſt reluctance, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. Their regard to them continued all the time they remained in camp. They viſited them from day to day; and brought them what corn, ſkins, horſes and other matters, they had beſtowed on them, while in their families; accompanied with other preſents, and all the marks of the moſt ſincere and tender affection. Nay, they did not ſtop here; but, when the army marched, ſome of the Indians ſolicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives all the way to Fort Pitt, and employed themſelves in hunting and bringing proviſions for them on the road. A young Mingo carried this ſtill farther, and gave an inſtance of love which would make a figure even in romance. A young woman of Virginia was among the captives, to whom he had formed ſo ſtrong an attachment, as to call her his wife. Againſt all remonſtrances of the imminent danger to which he expoſed himſelf by approaching to the frontiers, he perſiſted in following her, at the riſk of being killed by the ſurviving relations of many unfortunate perſons, who had been captivated or ſcalped by thoſe of his nation.

Thoſe

Thoſe qualities in ſavages challenge our juſt eſteem. They ſhould make us charitably conſider their barbarities as the effects of wrong education, and falſe notions of bravery and heroiſm; while we ſhould look on their virtues as ſure marks that nature has made them fit ſubjects of cultivation as well as us: and that we are called by our ſuperior advantages to yield them all the helps we can in this way. Cruel and unmerciful as they are, by habit and long example, in war; yet, whenever they come to give way to the native dictates of humanity, they exerciſe virtues which Chriſtians need not bluſh to imitate. When they once determine to give life, they give every thing with it, which, in their apprehenſion, belongs to it. From every enquiry that has been made, it appears—that no woman thus ſaved is preſerved from baſe motives, or need fear the violation of her honour. No child is otherwiſe treated by the perſons adopting it, than the children of their own body. The perpetual ſlavery of thoſe captivated in war, is a notion which even their barbarity has not yet ſuggeſted to them. Every captive whom their affection, their caprice, or whatever elſe, leads them to ſave, is ſoon incorporated with them, and fares alike with themſelves.

Among the children who had been carried off young, and had long lived with the Indians, it is not to be expected that any marks of joy would appear on being reſtored to their parents or relations. Having been accuſtomed to look upon the Indians as the only connections they had, having been tenderly treated by them, and ſpeaking their language, it is no wonder that they conſidered their return in the light of a captivity, and parted from the ſavages with tears.

But it muſt not be denied that there were even ſome grown perſons who ſhewed an unwillingneſs to return. The Shawaneſe were obliged to bind ſeveral of their priſoners and force them along to the camp; and

ſome women, who had been delivered up, afterward found means to eſcape and run back to the Indian towns. Some, who could not make their eſcape, clung to their ſavage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refuſing ſuſtenance.

For the honour of humanity, we would ſuppoſe thoſe perſons to have been of the loweſt rank, either bred up in ignorance and diſtreſſing penury, or who had lived ſo long with the Indians as to forget all their former connections. For, eaſy and unconſtrained as the ſavage life is, certainly it could never be put in competition with the bleſſings of improved life and the light of religion, by any perſons who have had the happineſs of enjoying, and the capacity of diſcerning them.

Every thing being now ſettled with the Indians, the army decamped on Sunday 18th November, and marched for Fort Pitt, where it arrived on the 28th. The regular troops were immediately ſent to garriſon the different poſts on the communication, and the provincial troops, with the captives, to their ſeveral provinces. Here ended this expedition, in which it is remarkable that, notwithſtanding the many difficulties attending it, the troops were never in want of any neceſſaries; continuing perfectly healthy during the whole campaign; in which no life was loſt, except the man mentioned to have been killed at Muſkingham.

RE-

REFLECTIONS on the WAR With the SAVAGES of NORTH-AMERICA.

[Annexed to the Account of Col. BOUQUET's Expedition.]

THE long continued ravages of the Indians on the frontiers of the Britiſh colonies in America, and the fatal overthrows which they have ſometimes given our beſt diſciplined troops, eſpecially in the beginning of the late war, have rendered them objects of our conſideration, even in their military capacity. And as but few officers, who may be employed againſt them, can have opportunities to obſerve the true cauſes of their advantages over European troops in the woods, it is with the utmoſt pleaſure that we now proceed to lay before the public the following valuable papers, which have been communicated by an officer of great abilities and long experience, in our wars with the Indians.

As ſcarce any thing has yet been publiſhed on a ſubject now become of the higheſt importance § to our colonies, theſe papers will undoubtedly be an acceptable preſent to the reader; and the remarks contained in them may be more and more improved by the future care and attention of able men, till perhaps a compleat ſyſtem is at length formed for the conduct of this particular ſpecies of war.

Of the Temper and Genius of the Indians.

THE love of liberty is innate in the ſavage; and ſeems the ruling paſſion of the ſtate of nature. His

§ It will appear by the account of Indian tribes and towns, that they are neither contemptible in numbers or ſtrength. See Major Rogers's Account *ante*.

deſires and wants, being few, are eaſily gratified, and leave him much time to ſpare, which he would ſpend in idleneſs, if hunger did not force him to hunt. That exerciſe makes him ſtrong, active and bold; raiſes his courage, and fits him for war; in which he uſes the ſame ſtratagems and cruelty as againſt the wild beaſts; making no ſcruple to employ treachery and perfidy to vanquiſh his enemy. Jealous of his independency and of his property, he will not ſuffer the leaſt encroachment on either; and upon the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion, fired with reſentment, he becomes an implacable enemy, and flies to arms to vindicate his right, or revenge an injury. The advantages of theſe ſavages over civilized nations are both natural and acquired. They are all tall and well limbed, remarkable for their activity, and have a piercing eye and quick ear, which are of great ſervice to them in the woods. Like beaſts of prey, they are patient, deceitful, and rendered by habit almoſt inſenſible to the common feelings of humanity. Their barbarous cuſtom of ſcalping their enemies, in the heat of action; the exquiſite torments often inflicted by them on thoſe reſerved for a more deliberate fate; their general ferocity of manners, and the ſucceſſes wherewith they have often been fluſhed; have conſpired to render their name terrible, and ſometimes to ſtrike a panic even into our braveſt and beſt diſciplined troops.

Their acquired advantages are, that they have been inured to bear the extreams of heat and cold; and from their infancy, in winter and ſummer, to plunge themſelves into cold ſtreams, and to go almoſt naked, expoſed to the ſcorching ſun or nipping froſts, till they arrive to the ſtate of manhood. Some of them deſtroy the ſenſation of the ſkin by ſcratching it with the ſhort and ſharp teeth of ſome animal, diſpoſed in the form of a curry-comb, which makes them regardleſs of briars and thorns in running through thickets. Rivers are no obſtacles to them in *their* wild excurſions. They either ſwim over, or croſs

croſs them on rafts or canoes, of an eaſy and ready conſtruction.

In their expeditions they live chiefly by hunting, or on wild fruits and roots, with which the woods ſupply them almoſt every where. They can bear hunger and thirſt for ſeveral days, without ſlackening, on that account, their perſeverance on any propoſed enterprize. By conſtant practice in hunting, they learn to ſhoot with great ſkill, either with bows, or fire-arms; and to ſteal unperceived upon their prey, purſuing the tracks of men and beaſts, which would be imperceptible to an European. They can run for a whole day without halting, when flying from an enemy, or when ſent on any meſſage. They ſteer, as if by inſtinct, through trackleſs woods; and with aſtoniſhing patience can lie whole days motionleſs in ambuſh to ſurpriſe an enemy; eſteeming no labour or perſeverance too painful to obtain their ends.

They beſmear their bodies with bear's greaſe, which defends them againſt rains and damps, as well as againſt the ſtings of moſquitoes and gnats. It likewiſe ſupples their limbs, and makes them as ſlippery as the antient gladiators, who could not be held faſt when ſeized in fight.

They fight only when they think to have the advantage; but cannot be forced to it, being ſure by their ſpeed to elude the moſt eager purſuit. Their dreſs conſiſts of the ſkin of ſome wild beaſt, or a blanket; a ſhirt, either of linen, or of dreſſed ſkins; a breech-clout, leggins, reaching half way up the thigh, and faſtened to a belt, with mokawſons on their feet. They uſe no ligatures that might obſtruct the circulation of their blood, or agility of their limbs. They ſhave their head, reſerving only a ſmall tuft of hair on the top; and ſlit the outer part of their ears, to which, by weights, they give a circular form, extending them down to their ſhoulders. They adorn themſelves with ear and noſe-rings, bracelets

of ſilver and wampum, and paint their faces with various colours. When they prepare for an engagement they paint themſelves black, and fight naked.

Their arms are a fuſil, or rifle, a powder-horn, a ſhot-pouch, a tomahawk, and a ſcalping knife hanging to their neck. When they are in want of fire-arms, they ſupply them by a bow, a ſpear, or a death-hammer, which is a ſhort club made of hard wood. Their uſual utenſils are a kettle, a ſpoon, a looking-glaſs, an awl, a ſteel to ſtrike fire, ſome paint, a pipe and tobacco-pouch. For want of tobacco, they ſmoke ſome particular leaves, or the bark of a willow; which is almoſt their continual occupation. Thus lightly equipped do the ſavages lie in wait to attack, at ſome difficult paſs, the European ſoldiers heavily accoutred, harraſſed by a tedious march, and encumbered with an unwieldy convoy.

Experience has convinced us that it is not our intereſt to be at war with them; but if, after having tried all means to avoid it, they force us to it, (which in all probability will often happen) we ſhould endeavour to fight them upon more equal terms, and regulate our manœuvres upon thoſe of the enemy we are to engage, and the nature of the country we are to act in.

It does not appear from our accounts of Indian wars, that the ſavages were ſo brave formerly as we have found them of late; which muſt be imputed to their unexpected ſucceſſes againſt our troops on ſome occaſions, particularly in 1755; and from the little reſiſtance they have ſince met with from defenceleſs inhabitants. It is certain, that even at this day, they ſeldom expoſe their perſons to danger, and depend entirely upon their dexterity in concealing themſelves during an engagement; never appearing openly, unleſs they have ſtruck their enemies with terror, and have thereby rendered them incapable of defence.—From whence it may be inferred that, if they were beat two or three times, they would loſe that confi-

dence

dence inſpired by ſucceſs, and be leſs inclined to engage in wars which might end fatally for them. But this cannot reaſonably be expected, till we have troops trained to fight them in their own way, with the additional advantage of European courage and diſcipline.

Any deviation from our eſtabliſhed military ſyſtem would be needleſs, if valour, zeal, order and good conduct, were ſufficient to ſubdue this light-footed enemy. Theſe qualities are conſpicuous in our troops; but they are too heavy to be employed alone in a deſtructive ſervice for which they were never intended. They require the aſſiſtance of lighter corps, whoſe dreſs, arms and exerciſes, ſhould be adapted to this new kind of war.

The learned jeſuit †, who has obliged the world with a treatiſe on the military affairs of the ancient Romans; tells us, from Salluſt, that this wiſe nation, our maſters in the art of war, were never hindered even by the pride of empire, from imitating any foreign maxim or inſtitution, provided it was good: and that they carefully adopted into their own practice, whatever they found uſeful in that of their allies or enemies. So that by receiving ſome things from one, and ſome from another, they greatly improved a ſyſtem even originally excellent.

But without going back to the ancients, we have ſeen this maxim adopted in our days. Marſhal de Saxe, finding the French army harraſſed by the huſſars and other Auſtrian light troops, formed alſo ſeveral corps of them of different kinds: and the king of Pruſſia, in his firſt war, introduced them into his army, and has augmented and employed them ever ſince with ſucceſs. We have ourſelves made uſe of them in the two laſt wars in Europe: but the light troops wanted in America muſt be trained upon different principles. The enemies we have to deal with

† Vid. Joannis Antonii Valtrini, libr. de re milit Vet. Rom.

are infinitely more active and dangerous than the huſſars and pandours. For the American ſavages, after their rapid incurſions, retreat to their towns, at a great diſtance from our ſettlements, through woods almoſt impenetrable to ſoldiers loaded with cloaths, baggage and proviſions; who, when fatigued with a long march, muſt be a very unequal match to engage the nimble ſavage in woods, which are his native element.

An European, to be a proper judge of this kind of war, muſt have lived ſome time in the vaſt foreſts of America; otherwiſe he will hardly be able to conceive a continuity of woods without end. In ſpite of his endeavours, his imagination will betray him into an expectation of open and clear grounds, and he will be apt to calculate his manœuvres accordingly, too much upon the principles of war in Europe.

Some remarks here may not be amiſs, which are founded upon obſervations invariable in all engagements with ſavages.

The firſt, that their general maxim is to ſurround their enemy. The ſecond, that they fight ſcattered, and never in a compact body. The third, that they never ſtand their ground when attacked, but immediately give way, and return to the charge.

Theſe principles being admitted, it follows—— 1. That the troops deſtined to engage Indians, muſt be lightly cloathed, armed and accoutred. 2. That having no reſiſtance to encounter in the attack or defence, they are not to be drawn up in cloſe order, which would only expoſe them without neceſſity to a greater loſs. And, laſtly, that all their evolutions muſt be performed with great rapidity; and the men enabled by exercise to purſue the enemy cloſely, when put to flight, and not give them time to rally.

Theſe remarks will explain the reaſons of the alterations propoſed in the formation of a corps of troops, for the ſervice of the woods. It is not, however, to be expected that this method will remove all obſtacles;

ſtacles; but, diſcipline and practice may in a great meaſure ſupply the want of other advantages.

General Idea of an Eſtabliſhment of Light Troops, for the Service of the Woods.

In order to be better underſtood, let us ſuppoſe a corps of 500 men to be raiſed and diſciplined for the woods, with two troops of light horſe, to which a company of artificers might be added. The fitteſt men for that ſervice would be the natives in America bred upon the frontiers, and inliſted between the age of 15 and 20 years, to be diſcharged between 30 and 35.

The cloathing of a ſoldier for the campaign might conſiſt of a ſhort coat of brown cloth, lappelled, and without plaits; a ſtrong tanned ſhirt, ſhort trowſers, leggins, mokawſons or ſhoe packs, a ſailor's hat, a blanket, a knapſack for proviſions, and an oiled ſurtout againſt the rain. This may be made of a large chequed ſhirt, with the opening of the breaſt continued down to the bottom, and the wriſtbands cut off to throw the ſleeves open and large: this being carefully oiled, will be very light, and yet ſecurely cover the man, his pack, ammunition and arms; and if the oil be mixed, to be of a greeniſh caſt, the watch-coat will be leſs conſpicuous in the woods. To this might be added, in winter-quarters or time of peace, three white ſhirts and ſtocks, with a flannel waiſt-coat.

Their arms, the beſt that could be made, ſhould be ſhort fuſils and ſome rifles, with bayonets in the form of a dirk, to ſerve for a knife; with powder-horns and ſhot-pouches, ſmall hatchets and leathern bottles for water.

The firſt thing they are to learn is to walk well, afterward to run; and, in order to excite emulation, ſmall premiums might from time to time be given to thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves. They muſt

aſt then run in ranks, with open files, and wheel that order; at firſt ſlowly, and by degrees increaſe heir ſpeed: this evolution is difficult, but of the utmoſt conſequence to fall unexpectedly upon the flank of the enemy. They are to diſperſe and rally at given ſignals; and particular colours ſhould be given to each company, for them to rally by: the men muſt be uſed to leap over logs and ditches, and to carry burthens proportioned to their ſtrength.

When the young ſoldiers are perfect in theſe exerciſes, they may receive their arms, with which they are to perform the former evolutions in all ſorts of grounds. They will next be taught to handle their arms with dexterity. They ought to learn to ſwim, puſhing at the ſame time their cloaths, arms, and ammunition before them, on a ſmall raft; and to make uſe of ſnow-ſhoes. They muſt then be ſet to work, and be taught to throw up an intrenchment, open a trench, make faſcines, clays and gabions, &c. By example and practice, the moſt ingenious among them will ſoon become tolerable good artiſts in all theſe employments.

To compleat this eſtabliſhment, they ſhould have two troops of light horſe, ſuppoſe of 50 men each, officers included. The men are to perform the ſame exerciſes as the foot, and afterward be taught to ride, particularly to be very alert at mounting and diſmounting with their arms in their hands; to gallop through the woods, up and down hills, and leap over logs and ditches.

The horſes ought to be bought up on the frontiers, where they are bred and uſed to feed in the woods, and are ſtrong and hardy. This corps ſhould be equipped as the foot, having only a ſhort rifle in lieu of a fuſil, and a battle-axe with a long handle; the only ſort of arms they ſhould make uſe of in the charge.

Every light horſeman ought to be provided with a blood-hound, which would be uſeful to find out the enemies ambuſhes, and to follow their tracks; they

would ſeize the naked ſavages, or at leaſt give time to the horſemen to come up to them; and would add to the ſafety of the camp at night.

The company of artificers ſhould be compoſed of the moſt uſeful tradeſmen, and ought to be maintained at all times for the inſtruction of the ſoldiers, the uſe of the ſettlement, or the ſervice of the army, during the campaign. It will now be time to draw forth this military colony and remove them to the ground laid out for that uſe in the woods, and at a good diſtance from the inhabitants. The nature of this ſettlement will hereafter be more particularly deſcribed.

Neceſſity creating induſtry, our young ſoldiers will ſoon provide themſelves with the moſt uſeful articles, and in a couple of years be able to raiſe proviſions for themſelves. While the greateſt part will be employed in clearing the ground, fencing, ploughing, ſowing, planting, building, and making utenſils and houſhold furniture; others might hunt with their officers, and remain a fortnight or a month out of the camp, without other proviſions than a little flour, and what they could procure by hunting and fiſhing; then to be relieved, and the whole trained up in that way. The military exerciſes muſt ſtill be kept up and practiſed, and great care taken to inculcate and preſerve purity of manners, obedience, order and decency among the men; which will be found much eaſier in the woods than in the neighbourhood of towns.

In order to make this military eſtabliſhment more generally uſeful, the ſoldiers ſhould only receive a very ſmall part of their pay; leaving the remainder in the military cheſt. Their accounts ſhould be ſettled every year, and when their ſervices ſhould entitle them to their diſcharge, each of them ought to have 200 acres of land given him, in a diſtrict appropriated for that purpoſe; and receiving then the whole balance of pay due to them, they would be enabled

to

to compleat their ſettlement. This inſtitution appears not only practicable, but eaſy, if attended to with patience, aſſiduity and firmneſs.

Let us ſuppoſe a ſettlement to be formed for one hundred families, compoſed of five perſons each, upon an average. Lay out upon a river, or creek, if it can be found conveniently, a ſquare of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty yards, or a mile for each ſide.

That ſquare will contain - - - 640 acres

Allowing for ſtreets and public uſes	40	640 acres
To half an acre for every houſe -	50	
To 100 lots at five and half acres -	550	

The four ſides of the ſquare meaſure 7040 yards, which gives to each houſe about 70 yards front to ſtockade, and the ground allowed for building will be 210 feet front, and about 100 feet deep.

An acre of ground will produce at leaſt 30 buſhels of Indian corn. Therefore, two acres are ſufficient to ſupply five perſons, at the rate of twelve buſhels each perſon. Two other acres will be a paſture for cows and ſheep, another acre for hay, to be ſown with red clover. The remaining half acre may be laid out for a garden.

Round the town are the commons, of three miles ſquare, containing, excluſive of the lots abovementioned, 5120 acres. On three ſides of the town, five other ſquares will be laid out of three ſquare miles, containing 5760 acres each, one of which is reſerved for wood for the uſe of the ſettlement; the other four to be divided into 25 out-lots or plantations, of about 230 acres each, ſo that in the four ſquares, there will be one hundred ſuch plantations, for the hundred families.

Another townſhip may be laid out joining to this, upon the ſame plan, and as many more as might be required, upon the ſame line, without loſing any ground.

When a corps, like that above deſcribed, has ſerved the time limited, namely from their 15th to their

35th

35th year, what vaſt ſatisfaction would it be to pay over to them their ſhare of ſavings from the public cheſt; and, as a reward of their faithful toils, to veſt them and their heirs with plantations, which they would now be able to cultivate as their own? This proſpect would engage many people to enter their ſons, in ſuch corps; and thoſe veterans, when thus diſcharged, would not only be the means of forming and animating others by their example, but in caſe of a war, would ſtill bravely maintain the property they had ſo honourably acquired, and be the greateſt ſecurity of the frontier where they are ſettled.

It is not practicable to employ large bodies of troops againſt Indians; the convoys neceſſary for their ſupport would be too cumberſome, and could neither be moved with eaſe, nor protected. It would be better to fit out ſeveral ſmall expeditions, than one too unwieldy. A corps intended to act offenſively ſhould not exceed the following proportions.

Two regiments of foot - - - - -	900
One battalion of hunters - - - - -	500
Two troops of light horſe - - - - -	100
One company of artificers - - - - -	20
Drivers and neceſſary followers - - -	280
In all	1800

The firſt article to provide is the proviſions, and next the carriages.

The daily ration of a ſoldier in the woods ſhould conſiſt of one pound and a half of meat (which requires no carriage) and one pound of flour, with a gill of ſalt per week.

Upon that allowance 1800 men will require for ſix months or 182 days - - - - -	327,600 lb. flour.
Allowing one fourth for accident	81,900
For ſix months	409,500 lb. flour.

Meat

Meat for the ſame time, with a fourth-part more for accidents, or 2048 beeves at 300 lb. each	614,400 lb. mea.
Salt for 26 weeks - - -	182 buſhel:

The above quantity would ſerve the whole campaign; but one half would be ſufficient to penetrate from the laſt depoſit into the heart of the enemy's country: therefore we ſhall compute the carriages for this laſt quantity only.

To reduce the exorbitant number of horſes, uſually required, and the great expence attending them; in ſuch parts of the country as would admit of it, carts drawn each by four oxen, and carrying about 1300 lb. or ſix barrels of flour, would be infinitely preferable. The above quantity of 204,750 lb. will then be carried by 160 carts, drawn by - - 640 oxen

Spare oxen with the army - - - 384

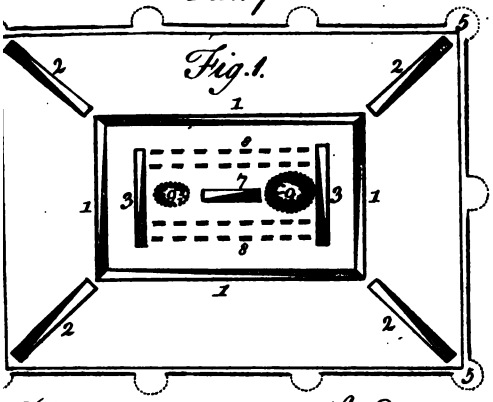
The number of oxen wanted 1024

This method would not be ſo expeditious as the carriage by horſes, and would require more time and attention in cutting the road, and bridging the ſwampy places, &c. but, on the other hand, what an expence would be ſaved! and by killing the oxen in proportion as the flour is uſed, and abandoning the carts, the convoy is daily reduced: and the grain near the encampment will not be ſo ſoon conſumed which is not the caſe with horſes, which muſt equally be fed though unloaded. This is an object of conſequence, particularly near the end of the campaign when the ſcarcity of fodder obliges to move the camp every day, and to place them in low and diſadvantageous grounds.

There are few rivers in North America deep in ſummer, and which theſe carts with high and broad wheels could not ford; but if the contrary ſhould happen, the carts, proviſion and baggage, may be rafted over, or a bridge built. In a country full of timbe

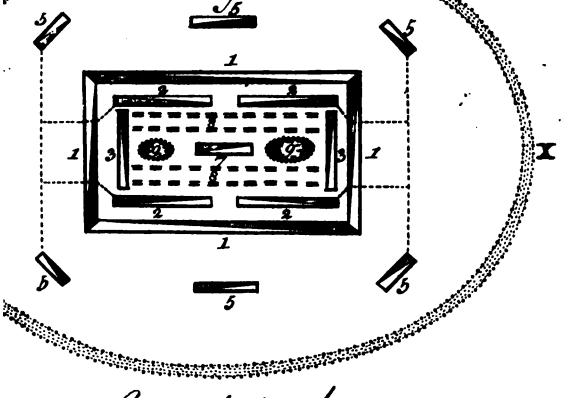
Camp.

Fig. 1.



Disposition to receive the Enemy.

Fig. 3.



General Attack.

X

timber, and with troops accuſtomed to work, no river will ſtop an army for a long time.

By the above method, 3 or 400 horſes will be ſufficient to carry the baggage, ammunition, tents, tools, &c.

EXPLANATION of the four PLANS, repreſenting the different Poſitions of our Army in the Woods.

ENCAMPMENT.

The camp (fig. 1) forms a parallelogram, of one thouſand by ſix hundred feet. Eight hundred men of the regular troops (1) encamp on the four ſides, which gives twenty-four feet to each tent, containing ſix men. The light-horſe (3) encamp within the parallelogram. The reſerve (7) in the center.

The proviſions, ammunition, tools and ſtores (8) and the cattle (9) are placed between the two troops of light horſe and the reſerve. The hunters (2) encamp on the outſide diagonally at the four angles, being covered by redoubts (5) formed with kegs and bags of flour or faſcines. Beſides theſe four redoubts, another is placed to the front, one to the rear, and two before each of the long faces of the camp; making in all ten advanced guards of 22 men each, and 7 ſentries, covered if poſſible by breaſt-works of faſcines or proviſions. Before the army lay down their arms, the ground is to be reconnoitred, and the guards poſted, who will immediately open a communication from one to the other, to relieve the centinels and facilitate the paſſage of rounds.

The centinels upon the ammunition, proviſions, head quarters, and all others in the inſide of the camp, are furniſhed from the reſerve. The officers, except the ſtaff and commanders of corps, encamp on the line with their men.

The fires are made between the guards and camp, and put out in caſe of an attack in the night.

LINE

LINE of MARCH, Fig. 2.

Part of the hunters (2) in three diviſions detaching ſmall parties (5, 6) to their front and to their right and left, to ſearch the woods and diſcover the enemy.——The artificers and axe-men (4) to cut a road for the convoy, and two paths on the right and left for the troops.——One hundred and fifty of the regular troops (1) in two files, who are to form the front of the ſquare; theſe march in the center road. ——Two hundred and fifty regulars (1) in one file by the right hand path; and 250 (1) by the left hand path, are to form the long faces.——Theſe are followed by 150 regulars (1) in two files, who are to form the rear of the ſquare.——The reſerve (7) compoſed of 100 regulars in two files.——The reſt of the hunters (2) in two files.——The light horſe (3.)——The rear-guard (5) compoſed of hunters, follows the convoy at ſome diſtance and cloſes the march. ——The ſcouting parties (6) who flank the line of march, are taken from the hunters and light horſe, and poſted as in plan (fig. 2) ſome orderly light horſemen, attend the General and field-officers who command the grand diviſions, to carry their orders.—— Two guards of light horſe take charge of the cattle (9.)

The Convoy (8) proceeds in the following Order.

The tools and ammunition following the front column.——The baggage.——The cattle.——The proviſions.——The whole divided into brigades, and the horſes two a-breaſt.

In caſe of a defile, the whole to halt until the ground is reconnoitred, and the hunters have taken poſſeſſion of the heights. The center column then enters into the defile, followed by the right face; after them the convoy; then the left and rear face, with the reſerve, the light horſe, and the rear-guard.

The

The whole to form again as ſoon as the ground permits.

Diſpoſition to receive the Enemy, Fig. 3.

The whole halt to form the ſquare or parallelogram, which is done thus. The firſt two men of the center column ſtand faſt at two yards diſtance. The two men following them, ſtep forward and poſt themſelves at two yards on the right and left. The others come to the front in the ſame manner, till the two files have formed a rank, which is the front of the ſquare.

The rear-face is formed by the two file-leaders turning to the center road, where having placed themſelves at two yards diſtance, they face outward, and are followed by their files, each man poſting himſelf on their right or left, and facing toward the enemy the moment he comes to his poſt.

As ſoon as the front and rear are extended and formed, the two long faces, who have in the mean time faced outward, join now the extremities of the two fronts and cloſe the ſquare. Theſe evolutions muſt be performed with celerity.

To reduce the Square.

The right and left of the front, face to the center, where the two center men ſtand faſt. Upon the word, March, theſe ſtep forward and are replaced by the two next, who follow them, and ſo on; by which means, that front becomes again a column. The rear goes to the right about, and each of the center men leads again to the ſide-paths, followed by the reſt.

While the troops form, the light-horſe and each diviſion of the convoy take the ground aſſigned to them within the ſquare, as if they were to encamp; and the horſes being unloaded, two parallel lines will be formed, with the bags and kegs of proviſions, to

cover the wounded and the men unfit for action. The hunters take poſt on the moſt advantageous ground on the out-ſide, and ſkirmiſh with the enemy, till the ſquare is formed; when, upon receiving their orders, they retire within the ſquare, where they take their poſt as in fig. 3.

The ſmall parties of rangers (5) who have flanked the line of march, remain on the out-ſide, to keep off the enemy and obſerve their motions. When the firing begins, the troops will have orders to fall on their knees, to be leſs expoſed, till it is thought proper to attack. The four faces, formed by the regular troops, are divided into platoons chequered. One half, compoſed of the beſt and moſt active ſoldiers, is called the Firſt Firing, and the other half the Second Firing. The eight platoons at the angles are of the ſecond firing, in order to preſerve the form of the ſquare during the attack.

It is evident that, by this diſpoſition, the convoy is well covered, and the light troops, deſtined for the charge, remain concealed; and as all unexpected events during an engagement are apt to ſtrike terror, and create confuſion, among the enemy; it is natural to expect that the ſavages will be greatly diſconcerted at the ſudden and unforeſeen eruption, that will ſoon pour upon them from the inſide of the ſquare; and that, being vigorouſly attacked in front and flank at the ſame time, they will neither be able to reſiſt, nor, when once broke, have time to rally, ſo as to make another ſtand.

The ſick and wounded, unable to march or ride, are tranſported in litters made of flour bags, through which two long poles are paſſed, and kept aſunder by two ſticks, tied acroſs beyond the head and feet to ſtretch the bag. Each litter is carried by two horſes.

CONSTRUCTION of FORTS againſt INDIANS.

AS we have not to guard here againſt cannon, the ſyſtem of European fortifications may be laid aſide, as expenſive, and not anſwering the purpoſe. Forts againſt Indians, being commonly remote from our ſettlements, require a great deal of room to lodge a ſufficient quantity of ſtores and proviſions, and at the ſame time ought to be defenſible with half of their compleat garriſons, in caſe of detachments or convoys.

A ſquare or pentagon, with a block-houſe of brick or ſtone † at every angle, joined by a wall flanked by the block-houſes, appear to be the beſt defence againſt ſuch enemies. A ditch from ſeven to eight feet deep might be added, with loop-holes in the cellars of the block-houſes ſix feet from the ground, to defend the ditch.

Along the inſide of the curtains the traders might build houſes and ſtores, covered as well as the block-houſes with tiles, or ſlate, to guard againſt fire-arrows. There will remain a ſpacious area for free air and uſe, in which as well as in the ditch, gardens might be made and wells dug.

The powder magazines might be placed in the center of the area, keeping only a ſmall quantity of cartridges in each block-houſe for preſent uſe.

The garriſons of ſuch forts would be free from ſurprizes, even if they had no centinels; for nothing can get at them, while the doors are well bolted and barred.

† Experience has demonſtrated that fortifications made of wood decay very ſoon, and are on that account of conſiderable expence.

A SHORT ACCOUNT of the AMERICAN ISLANDS.

THE BERMUDAS ISLANDS were diſcovered by John Bermudas, a Spaniard, after which they were frequently touched at by his countrymen, in their paſſage to the Weſt Indies: but were unknown to us till the year 1593, when one Henry May was ſhipwrecked upon them in a French veſſel: but they became much more famous by Sir George Summers and Sir Thomas Gates ſuffering the like misfortune in their paſſage to Virginia in 1609. Sir George ſent thither a ſecond time to fetch hogs, when he died upon the iſland, at above 60 years of age; but though he directed his men to return for Virginia with black hogs for the relief of that colony, they having ſtored their ſhip with proviſions, ſet ſail for England, and arrived at Whitchurch in Dorſetſhire, with Sir George Summers's corpſe on board, leaving only his heart and bowels at Bermudas, where twelve years after Capt. Butler built a handſome monument over them.

Theſe men gave ſuch an account of the country to the Virginia company, that 120 perſons of the ſame ſociety obtained a charter from King James, and became the proprietors of theſe iſlands, whoſe name was changed to Summers's Iſlands, from the above gentleman: they are by our mariners called the Summer-Iſlands, a name they well deſerve from their pleaſantneſs and fertility.

Theſe iſlands lie in 32° 30′ north latitude, and in 35° weſt longitude, at a vaſt diſtance from either continent; ſince the neareſt land, which is Cape Hat-

taras

taras in Carolina, lies at leaſt 250 leagues to the weſt of them, and they are above 1600 leagues from England. They lie very contiguous to each other, in the form of a ſhepherd's crook; but authors differ greatly as to their number, ſome aſſerting there are but 300 of them, while others affirm there are more than 500. However, ſcarce an eighth part of them are inhabited; and all but St. George's, St. David's, and Cooper's iſles, have only a few houſes ſcattered up and down. There are none of them of any conſiderable bigneſs, the main or greateſt iſland, which is called St. George's, is only about 16 miles in length, and not a league over in the broadeſt place. But it is fortified by nature all round, with rocks every way extending themſelves a great way into the ſea. To its natural ſtrength, eſpecially to the eaſtward, where it is moſt expoſed, the inhabitants have added that of forts, batteries, parapets, and lines, ſo well diſpoſed, that they command the ſeveral channels and inlets into the ſea. There are no more than two places where ſhipping can ſafely enter, and the rocks lie ſo thick, that without a good pilot from the ſhore, a veſſel of ten tons could not find the way into theſe harbours: but being once known, the biggeſt ſhips in the world may enter. Indeed all theſe iſlands are ſo environed with rocks, that they ſeem to threaten all the ſhips that venture on the coaſt with preſent deſtruction; and ſo many have been wrecked upon them, that the Spaniards gave them the name of *Los Diabolos*, or *the Devil's Iſlands*.

The air of theſe iſlands has been always thought extremely healthful, and the appearance of every thing very delightful and charming; whence people have been accuſtomed to remove thither from the other colonies, in order to recover their broken conſtitutions. The heat in ſummer is very ſupportable; and with reſpect to winter they really have none. But notwithſtanding the fineneſs of the climate, theſe iſlands are ſubject to ſtorms of thunder and lightning.

There grow here all the plants found in the Weſt Indies; and all kinds of trees, herbs, roots, and flowers, brought from Europe, thrive to perfection. Maize, or Indian corn, which is the principal ſupport of the people, is twice reaped; for what they ſow in March, they reap in July; in a fortnight after they ſow again, and reap in December. Laurel, olive, mulberry, and date trees, are very common; as are alſo palmettos, which are a kind of palm-tree, and are extremely uſeful: for the leaves being eight or ten feet long, and near as broad, they cover their houſes with them inſtead of thatch or tiles. Theſe trees produce a very luſcious fruit, in ſhape, ſize, and colour, reſembling a damaſcene. Their foreſts alſo abound with a variety of odoriferous woods, ſome black, ſome yellow, and ſome of a red colour. The berries of theſe trees have the ſtyptic quality of a ſloe, and are much uſed by the Engliſh to cure the flux, which they frequently get by eating the luſcious palm-berries too greedily.

But among a multitude of ſhrubs and trees, peculiar to theſe iſlands, and equally valuable for their timber and fruit; there are two, which, though found in other parts of the world, have a peculiar excellence here: the firſt is their orange-tree, whoſe fruit in point of ſize, ſcent, and flavour, far exceed thoſe either in the Weſt or Eaſt Indies: the ſecond is their cedar, which is firmer and more durable than any of its kind we are acquainted with, and anſwers in every reſpect to oak timber. It is therefore uſed in ſhip-building, and the beſt ſloops, brigantines, and other ſmall veſſels, both for ſervice and ſailing, in uſe throughout the Weſt Indies, are built at the Bermudas.

As for animals, there were none in the Bermudas but hogs, inſects, and birds, when Sir George Summers was ſhipwrecked there: theſe hogs he found by ſending out two or three of his own to feed, which rambling home, a huge wild boar followed them, and being killed was found excellent meat. The hogs

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they afterward killed were all black, whence it is concluded, that the Spaniards left them there to breed, becauſe they were of the ſame kind with thoſe they carried to the continent of America.

Theſe iſlands abound in more fowl, and in a greater variety, than are to be found in any part of America: and they have as great plenty of fiſh as of fowl, and ſo many ſorts, that authors have not yet found out names for them: in particular, they have great numbers of turtle, which are as good and as large as any in the world.

The inſects in theſe iſlands are generally the ſame as in our other plantations, excepting the ſpider, which is thought to be larger here than in any other country in the world; but the beautiful colours wherewith they are adorned, take off very much from that diſtaſte which otherwiſe the ſight of creatures of this kind, and of ſo enormous a ſize, would naturally occaſion. One of theſe ſpiders, with his legs extended, takes up a ſpace equal to that of a man's hand with his fingers ſpread out. Their bodies are compoſed of two parts, one flat and the other round, not unlike, either in ſhape or ſize, to a pigeon's egg. Their mouths are covered with a kind of grey hairs, ſometimes intermixed with bright red; and on each ſide of their mouths, they have a crooked tooth of a fine poliſhed ſubſtance, extremely hard, and of a bright ſhining black; and therefore they are often ſet in ſilver or gold for tooth-picks. When theſe creatures grow old they are covered all over with a dark brown or black down, ſmooth and ſoft, reſembling velvet. Their webs are very large, faſtened between trees that grow at ſome diſtance, and are ſo ſtrong, that birds of the ſize of a thruſh, are ſometimes caught in them.

The town of St. George ſtands at the bottom of the haven of the ſame name, covered by no leſs than ſix or ſeven forts or batteries, mounted with above 70 pieces of cannon; ſo diſpoſed, that they may be all

brought to bear upon any ſhip, before ſhe can make her entrance. In this town there is a fine church, with a good library, for which the inhabitants are indebted to Dr. Thomas Bray. It has near 1000 handſome houſes, and a town-hall, in which the governor, council, and aſſembly meet.

Beſides the town and diviſion of St. George, there are eight tribes, viz. Hamilton's tribe, Smith's tribe, Devonſhire's tribe, Pembroke's tribe, Paget's tribe, Warwick's tribe, Southampton's tribe, and Sandy's tribe: of theſe Devonſhire in the north, and Southampton in the ſouth, are pariſhes, and have each a church and a particular library. But there are no pariſh churches in any of the leſſer iſlands; for all the inhabitants are ranged under one or other of theſe eight tribes. The number of people in all theſe iſlands has been computed at 9000.

The government is like that of Virginia, the crown appointing both the governor and council; but the people by their repreſentatives compoſe the aſſembly. They have fewer bye-laws than any of our other ſettlements, which may be imputed to the ſmallneſs of their trade: for this colony produces no conſiderable commodity, whereby the inhabitants may obtain riches. For their commerce chiefly conſiſts in timber and proviſions, in building ſhips and ſloops, and ſending ſome tobacco to England. The people of the Summer-Iſlands ſeem to content themſelves with the plenty and pleaſure of their country, and with enjoying a ſafe and quiet retreat, from the troubles and cares of the reſt of the world. In ſhort, the inhabitants have conſtantly maintained a moſt excellent reputation, and the Bermudas are equally remarkable for the fineneſs of the country, and the honeſty and integrity of the people.

The beauty of the country, and the amiable character of the inhabitants, induced the learned Dean Berkeley to endeavour to erect an academy at the Bermudas for promoting uſeful learning and true religion

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in the Weſt Indies: when the ſociety for the propagation of the goſpel aſſiſted him in procuring a patent from King George I. for erecting a ſeminary there, and contributed to the expence of the undertaking. Dr. Berkley, and three fellows of Trinity College in Dublin, with ſeveral of the Doctor's relations, actually embarked on this undertaking; but being driven by a ſtorm to Long-Iſland, in the province of New York, the Doctor, with his companions, viſited Boſton, and ſeveral other great towns in New England, where they preached: but the deſign of erecting a college being laid aſide, they returned home, and Dr. Berkley was ſoon after promoted to the ſee of Cloyne in Ireland.

The LUCAYAN or BAHAMA ISLANDS, were the firſt parts of the new world diſcovered by Columbus, who arrived firſt at Guahani, to which he gave the name of St. Salvador; but the Engliſh changed it to that of Cat iſland. The Spaniards never thought of ſettling there, but afterward contented themſelves with cruelly extirpating the native inhabitants, who were at that time remarkable for being the beſt people in all America.

It being thought that if theſe iſlands were ſettled, they might not only be of great benefit to this nation, but be a conſtant check on the French and Spaniards, in caſe of a breach with either of thoſe nations; King Charles II. made a grant of the Bahama iſlands to George Duke of Albemarle, Anthony Lord Aſhley, John Lord Berkley, William Lord Craven, Sir George Carteret, and Sir Peter Colliton.

The Bahama iſlands are ſituated to the north of Cuba, and ſtretch to the north-eaſt from the ſouth-weſt between 21° and 27° of north latitude, and between 73° and 81° of weſt longitude. The iſland of Bahama, which communicates its name to the reſt, is ſeated in the latitude of 26° 30′, at the diſtance of about 20 or 30 leagues from the continent of Florida. It is about 50 miles in length, but ſcarce any where

16 miles in breadth, and in many places not half ſo broad. It is, however, very pleaſant and fruitful; the ſoil is remarkably rich, and the country every where abounds with brooks, and ſprings of freſh water.

Providence iſland lies in the centre of ſome hundreds of iſlands, ſome of them many miles in length, and others no bigger than ſmall rocks ariſing above the water; ſo that it is extremely dangerous for ſhips to be forced in among them by a tempeſt. This iſland lies in 25° north latitude, is 28 miles long, and 11 miles broad, at the greateſt breadth. The moſt conſiderable profit made by the planters of Providence iſland, aroſe from the misfortunes of ſuch as were ſhipwrecked, or from thoſe who in a winter voyage to the continent of America were driven to the Bahama iſlands, and put into Providence for proviſions, which, it is true, had little or none, but what came from Carolina; however, the traders in the iſland kept ſtore-houſes to ſupply thoſe who wanted, and theſe afforded great relief to unfortunate mariners.

The firſt governor who was ſent to Providence iſland by the proprietors was Mr. Chillingworth, who went there about the year 1672, when ſeveral people ſailed from England, and the other colonies, to ſettle there: but living a licentious life, they grew impatient under government, and Mr. Chillingworth, endeavouring to bring them to reaſon, they aſſembled tumultuouſly, ſeized him, and ſhipped him off for Jamaica; after which they lived as they thought proper. Being afterward haraſſed by the depredations of the French and Spaniards, the inhabitants at length diſperſed to other places.

At length the Bahama iſlands becoming a receptacle for pirates, and the houſe of lords conſidering that it would be of fatal conſequence if they fell into the hands of an enemy; they addreſſed her majeſty Queen Anne, that the iſland of Providence might be

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put in a poſture of defence: but this advice being neglected, their lordſhips, four years after, addreſſed his late majeſty King George I. upon which he was pleaſed to give directions for diſlodging theſe pirates, for making ſettlements, and erecting a fortification.

Capt. Woodes Rogers was now appointed governor, and ſailed for Providence in April 1718, with a naval force for ſubduing the pirates. In the mean time Colonel Bennett governor of Bermudas, ſent a ſloop to the iſland, ordering them to ſurrender, purſuant to a late proclamation. Thoſe who were then on the iſland gladly accepted the mercy offered them, and promiſed to ſurrender themſelves as ſoon as they could get a paſſage to the Engliſh colonies; adding, that they did not doubt but their companions who were at ſea would gladly follow their example.

Mr. Woodes Rogers landed on the 27th of July, when he took poſſeſſion of the fort, and cauſed his majeſty's commiſſion to be read in the preſence of the officers, ſoldiers, and about 300 people, whom he found there at his arrival; and began to regulate the government, and to reduce it to order.

By theſe methods the face of affairs in this part of the world was entirely changed. The town of Naſſau was rebuilt, a regular force eſtabliſhed, and plantations laid out. Soon after the neighbouring iſland of Eleuthera was alſo ſettled; for about 60 families fixing themſelves there, erected a ſmall fort for their defence. The like was done in Harbour iſland, where the plantation ſoon grew more conſiderable, and a larger fort was built for the protection of the inhabitants.

At length Mr. Rogers returning to England was ſucceeded in his government by Capt. Fitz Williams; and ever ſince this laſt ſettlement of theſe iſlands, they have been continually improving, though they advance but ſlowly.

A BRIEF VIEW OF THE ANTILLES ISLANDS,

With their PRODUCE, and by what NATION poſſeſſed.

THE Antilles lie in form of a bow or ſemi-circle, ſtretching almoſt from the coaſt of Florida north, to the main continent of South America, ſouth. Some call them the Caribbees from the firſt inhabitants; though this is a term that moſt geographers confine to the leeward iſlands. Sailors diſtinguiſh them into Windward iſlands and Leeward iſlands, with regard to the uſual courſe of ſhips from Old Spain or the Canaries, to Carthagena or New Spain and Porto Bello. The geographical tables and maps diſtinguiſh them into the Great and Little Antilles. Beſide the original natives, they are inhabited by Engliſh, Spaniards, French or Dutch: yet all that are inhabited are not cultivated; and ſome are quite deſolate.

The firſt that we come to from the Bahamas, are Cuba, Hiſpaniola, Jamaica, and Porto Rico; which, with ſome ſmall ones, go by the name of the Great Antilles.

The iſland of CUBA is the moſt conſiderable in ſize, and, to ſay the truth, is one of the fineſt iſlands in the univerſe. It lies ſtretched out from weſt to eaſt, having Florida and the Lucayos on the north, Hiſpaniola on the weſt, Jamaica and the ſouthern continent on the ſouth, and the gulph of Mexico on the

the eaſt. It lies between 19° 30′ and 23° of north latitude, and from 74° to 85° 15′ of longitude. Herrera ſays that it is two hundred and thirty leagues in length, and in the broadeſt part, which is toward the iſland of Hiſpaniola, forty leagues, in the narroweſt about twelve.

It lies within the tropic of Cancer, and is by far the moſt temperate and pleaſant of all the Antilles. As to the ſoil, it differs pretty much in the ſeveral parts of the iſland. All the weſtern part of the country is plain, and if it were properly cultivated might be fruitful, though as it is it muſt be owned that much cannot be ſaid of it on that head. The eaſtern part is exceedingly mountainous; and from thence there runs a chain of hills almoſt throughout the iſland; but the farther weſt you go they are the leſs rough and barren. From theſe hills there run down to the north and ſouth many rivers, and amongſt them two pretty conſiderable, which beſides their beſtowing verdure and coolneſs as they paſs, are full of fiſh, and thoſe very large and good. The greateſt inconveniency in Cuba, is its being overgrown with woods, which, whatever the Spaniards may pretend, muſt be owing to their own lazineſs, and nothing elſe: for, as they admit, the country was well peopled when firſt diſcovered, it muſt neceſſarily have been leſs thick ſet with trees. Amongſt theſe, however, there are ſome very valuable, particularly cedars of an enormous ſize, and other ſorts of odoriferous wood. Birds there are of all kinds, more than in any other of the iſlands; and the Spaniards at their firſt landing having ſuffered ſome black cattle to ſtray into the woods, they by degrees turned wild, and have furniſhed the iſland with ſuch a breed as make now the principal part of its riches. We have before obſerved that its rivers abound with fiſh, to which we muſt now add, that they abound alſo with a creature terrible alike to fiſh, beaſts, and men, viz. the alligator.

It is thought there are more of this ſpecies here than in any other part of the known world. Moſt writers confound this creature with the crocodile, and indeed the Spaniards have but one name, viz. Caymanes, to expreſs both; yet it is certain that there is a difference, and amongſt other particulars, in theſe: the legs of the crocodile are longer than thoſe of the alligator; his fleſh is not muſky, as the other's is; the knots on the back are thicker, higher, and firmer. But the plaineſt and moſt diſcernible difference, and which indeed diſcovers itſelf at firſt ſight, is this; that the crocodile carries his tail cocked and crooked, with the tip turning back, like a bow, whereas the alligator drags his on the ground.

The city of St. Jago de Cuba is the moſt ancient in the iſland, and is, generally ſpeaking, eſteemed its capital, though now the governor reſides at the Havanna, and only ſuch of the Spaniards as have eſtates on the iſland, and are contented with their poſſeſſions, without meddling much in trade, inhabit this place. This city is ſaid to have been deſtroyed by an earthquake about the cloſe of the ſummer 1766.

The city and port of Havanna ſtands almoſt directly ſouth of Cape Florida, and conſequently commands the gulph of that name. According to the laſt and moſt exact map of theſe parts, it lies under 23° 12′ of latitude; and its longitude weſt from London is 82° 13′. It ſtands on the weſt ſide of the harbour, in a very beautiful and pleaſant plain, having the ſea before it, and being ſurrounded on all ſides by two branches of the river Lagida. The buildings are fair, but not high, built of ſtone, and make a very good appearance, though it is ſaid they are but meanly furniſhed. One part of the iſland is under the juriſdiction of this city, as the other is under that of St. Jago; but the diſtrict belonging to the Havanna is by far the beſt cultivated, and has the moſt towns and villages in it; and theſe are not above ſix in

number, which ſhew how ſtrangely things are managed in this part of the world.

The port is not only the beſt in the Weſt Indies, but perhaps one of the fineſt in the univerſe: it is ſo capacious, that a thouſand ſail of ſhips may ride there commodiouſly without either cable or anchor; and there is, generally ſpeaking, ſix fathom water in the bay. The entrance is by a channel about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile in length, which is pretty narrow, and through it you come into the bay, which lies like a baſon at the bottom of it, with a ſmall iſland ſeated in the eaſt corner thereof. At the entrance of the channel there are two ſtrong caſtles, which are ſuppoſed to be capable of defending the place againſt any number of ſhips.

We are now to ſpeak of the commerce in this port, which is the moſt conſiderable of any in America. We will, for the ſake of perſpicuity, divide it into the particular commerce of the Iſle of Cuba, and into the general by the galleons. The former conſiſts in hides, uſually ſtyled, of the Havanna, which are excellent and of great value; ſugar, which is alſo a good commodity; tobacco, admirable in its kind; ginger, maſtic, alloes, ſarſaparilla, other drugs, and great quantities of tortoiſeſhell. It muſt be obſerved, that the commerce of the iſland of Cuba is not entirely confined to the Havanna, but extends itſelf to other ports, particularly St. Jago, where there are frequently many little veſſels from the Canaries, and other parts. As to the general commerce, this port is the place of rendezvous for all the ſhips which return into Spain from the Indies; ſo that here are frequently fifty or ſixty ſail in the port at once. The Havanna was taken by us after an obſtinate ſiege in 1762, and reſtored in exchange for Florida at the enſuing peace.

HISPANIOLA, which is alſo called St. Domingo, was by the natives ſtyled Hayti. It lies in the midſt, between Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, and is ſeparated from the laſt only by a narrow channel. It is

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in length from eaſt to weſt four hundred and eighty miles, and in breadth from north to ſouth, about ninety. It is ſurrounded by little iſlands which are very convenient, and of great advantage to the inhabitants. The climate is according to its ſituation, extremely hot, yet not without ſome qualification from the winds, which blow here at certain ſeaſons: It alſo rains here at certain times exceſſively, yet not in all places alike; but on the whole it cannot be ſaid that the air is by any means comparable to that of Cuba. The ſoil alſo differs very conſiderably, being in ſome places extremely rich and fertile, in others miſerably poor and barren.

The Spaniards were for many years the ſole poſſeſſors of this iſland, and for ſome part of that time it was a very flouriſhing colony; for as it was the firſt of their diſcoveries, ſo it was the centre of their commerce in theſe parts. But when Peru fell into their hands, and they began to make great additions to their territories on the continent of North America, this iſland began to be ſlighted, which encouraged the French about the middle of the laſt century to fix themſelves on the north ſide: and they have improved their ſettlements ſo much, that it would be not only impracticable to attempt the removing them, but they might, if they pleaſed, without any conſiderable difficulty, make themſelves maſters of the whole iſland; which in all probability they would have done, if the benefits which they draw from the neighbourhood of the Spaniards were not greater than any which could be derived from their expulſion.

The commodities of this country are hides, ſugar, ginger, cocoa, wax, honey, ambergreaſe, and various kinds of woods for the uſe of dyers. There were formerly mines of gold, the richeſt that ever were heard of, and mines of ſilver of very conſiderable value, but they are now abandoned as not worth the working.

The capital of the whole iſland is the city of St. Domingo. It is ſeated on the ſouth ſide of the iſland,

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at the mouth of the river of Ozama, in a fine plain, which renders it extremely pleaſant, and ſhews it to great advantage from the ſea. It is a large well-built city, and contains ſeveral edifices more magnificent than is uſual in the Indies.

The Streight between the iſlands of Cuba and Hiſpaniola, which is about 18 leagues over, is that which is ſo well known to us by the name of the windward paſſage, by which our ſhips ſometimes return from Jamaica: but as this paſſage is both difficult and dangerous, it is ſeldom that ſhips make choice of it, but on the contrary, ſail quite round the iſland of Cuba, and ſo through the gulph of Florida. Hence, in few words, the importance of keeping theſe paſſages free and open is made apparent, for otherwiſe not only our navigation ſuffers, but by degrees the inhabitants of the iſland of Jamaica muſt be undone, and that iſland return into the hands of its old poſſeſſors the Spaniards, even without the trouble of an invaſion.

St. John de PORTO RICO, though it be leſs than either Cuba or Hiſpaniola, is however a very fine iſland. It is in length from eaſt to weſt about 150 miles, in breadth between 50 and 60; the midſt of the iſland is in the latitude of 18°. As to the climate, it is exceſſively hot in ſummer, which laſts from May to September; and very moiſt and rainy in the winter; the ſoil, however, is extremely rich and fertile, abounding in fine meadows, well ſtocked with wild cattle, which however were originally of Spaniſh breed.

The capital of the iſland is the city of Porto Rico, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been ſo called from the excellence of its port, which is indeed as good as can be, and where the largeſt ſhips may lie in the utmoſt ſafety. Porto Rico ſtands on the north ſide of the iſland, in another joined to the continent by a cauſeway, which runs directly croſs the harbour. It is the place of reſidence of the king of Spain's governor, and is likewiſe a biſhop's ſee, large and well built,

and better inhabited than moſt Spaniſh cities; the true reaſon of which is its being the center of the contraband trade carried on by the Engliſh and French, with the king of Spain's ſubjects, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the laws, and the extraordinary precautions taken to prevent it. There is a very ſtrong citadel built on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the place, which commands and defends it; and beſide this there is a very ſtrong caſtle, which protects the port.

The principal commodities, in which the traders of Porto Rico deal, are ſugar, ginger, hides, cotton-thread, or raw cotton, caſſia, maſtic, &c. They have alſo great quantities of ſalt, and make a conſiderable profit of the ſale of their oranges and lemons, as fruit, and in ſweet-meats. They have a great many good veſſels, in which they ſail to various parts of America; and this it is that affords them an opportunity of carrying on the illicit trade before mentioned.

JAMAICA is ſituated in between 17 and 18° north latitude, and between 76 and 79° weſt longitude. It is 140 miles in length, and in the middle about 60 in breadth, growing leſs toward each end. It is about 20 leagues eaſt of Hiſpaniola, and as many ſouth of Cuba; and is upward of 150 leagues to the northward of Porto Bello and Carthagena. The whole iſland is one continued ridge of hills, which run from eaſt to weſt through the middle of it, and are generally called the Blue Mountains; and on each ſide there are other hills much lower. The mountainous part is very ſteep, and furrowed on the north and ſouth ſides of the higheſt hills, by very deep channels, made by violent rains, which almoſt every day fall on the mountains. All the high lands are covered with woods, in which there is very good timber, though the ſoil is there extremely barren; and they are obliged to ſhoot their fibrous roots into the crannies of the rocks. Moſt of the ſavannahs, or plains fit for paſture and cleared of wood, are like our meadow land, and lie near the ſouth-ſide of the iſland,

where

where a perſon may ride many miles without meeting with the leaſt aſcent. The ſavannahs are very green and pleaſant after rain; but after a long drought look yellow and parched.

Oliver Cromwell, being ſenſible of the advantages the Spaniards obtained from their provinces in America, formed a project for taking from them the fine iſland of Hiſpaniola: and, for that purpoſe, ſent a conſiderable ſquadron of men of war, commanded by general Penn, with a fleet of tranſports under general Venables; with which they ſailed from Portſmouth, and arrived at Barbadoes on the 15th of January, 1654. They afterward ſailed to Hiſpaniola; where being repulſed with loſs, it was reſolved to try what could be done againſt the iſland of Jamaica.

The fleet and troops being arrived at this laſt iſland, general Venables iſſued orders, that if any man attempted to run away, the next man to him ſhould put him to death; and that if he failed to do it, he ſhould be liable to be tried for his life. The troops were no ſooner landed than they advanced toward the fort, which they made themſelves maſters of with little loſs: and the next morning when the ſun aroſe, began to march toward the ſavannah near the town, when ſome Spaniards coming forward deſired to treat: but this that general refuſed, unleſs they would ſend his men a conſtant ſupply of proviſions, of which they were in great want; and to this the Spaniards conſented, and actually performed their promiſe. After which a capitulation was agreed upon.

Thus the fine iſland of Jamaica was ſubdued: and though the Spaniards continued to lurk about ſome parts of it for ſeveral years afterward, and once made a bold attempt to recover the place; yet colonel Doyly forced them to withdraw, and ſo effectually reduced the whole iſland, that at the reſtoration, the Spaniards yielded it to the crown of Great Britain, to which it has belonged ever ſince, and is the nobleſt poſſeſſion we have in thoſe parts.

The chief ports in the iſland are Port-Royal, which is a fine and capacious harbour; Old Harbour, which lies ſeven or eight miles weſt of St. Jago; Port Morant, at the eaſt end of the iſland; and Point Negril, at the weſt end of the iſland: beſide which there are ſeveral others on the ſouth and north ſides. But it is dangerous approaching the coaſt without a pilot, on account of the coral rocks, with which it is almoſt ſurrounded.

There are near 100 rivers in Jamaica, but none of them navigable; for riſing in the mountains in the middle of the iſland, they precipitate themſelves down the rocks to the north and ſouth, falling into the ſea before they have run many miles. They frequently carry down with them large trees and great pieces of rock; and it is very common to have cataracts among the mountains 50 or 60 feet high: yet in dry years water is very ſcarce in the ſavannas diſtant from rivers, ſo that many cattle die with driving to water. It is very remarkable that ſome rivers in the mountains riſe above and ſink under ground in many places; and in particular the Rio d'Oro falls and riſes for two or three times. Some of the ſprings and rivers petrify their channels, and ſtop their courſe by a cement which unites the gravel and ſand in their bottoms. There are ſeveral hot ſprings, and alſo many that are ſalt, and form ſalt lagunes, or great ponds: in theſe, and other ponds formed by the ſea water, great plenty of ſalt is made by the heat of the ſun exhaling the moiſture.

This iſland being 7° within the tropic, has the trade wind continually there, which is on the ſouth-ſide of the iſland, and is called the Sea Breeze. It comes about eight o'clock in the morning, and increaſes till twelve in the day; and then as the ſun grows lower, it decreaſes till there is none at four in the afternoon. The land breeze begins about eight in the evening, blowing four leagues into the ſea; it continues increaſing till twelve at night, and decreaſes

again

again till four. Thus as the land wind blows at night, and the ſea breeze in the day time, no ſhips can come into port except in the day; nor go out, but at break of day, or very ſoon after.

This iſland is ſo very ſubject to earthquakes, that the inhabitants expect one every year: ſome of theſe have been extreamly dreadful; particularly in the year 1692, when the town of Port Royal was almoſt ſwallowed up. Thunder is heard almoſt every day in the mountains, with the rains there; froſt and ſnow, however, are never ſeen in this hot climate, but hail is ſometimes ſeen very large.

The dews are here ſo great within land, that in a morning the water drops from the leaves of the trees as if it had rained; and the rains are violent, and the drops very large. Generally ſpeaking, the great rainy ſeaſons are in May and October, when they begin at the new or full moon, and continue day and night for a fortnight; ſo that Sir Hans Sloane obſerves, that all the level places are laid ſome inches under water. In the month of January is alſo expected a rainy ſeaſon; but this is neither ſo conſtant, nor ſo violent as the two others.

As to the produce of the iſland, it has all the tropical fruits, as plantains, cocoas, pine-apples, cacao or the chocolate-nut †, pimento, cotton-trees, woods for dying, mahogony and manchineel wood; ginger, and ſeveral medicinal drugs and gums.

Pimento is another of the natural productions of Jamaica, from whence it is called Jamaica-pepper, that being the chief place where it is found. This tree grows on all the hilly parts of the iſland of Jamaica, but chiefly on the north-ſide: it is generally left ſtanding when other trees are felled, and is ſometimes planted where it never grew before, on account of the great profit ariſing from the fruit, which is annually exported in great quantities into

† For an account of this tree ſee Ulloa's Voyage *ante*.

Europe. The pimento-tree flowers in June, July, and Auguſt, ſooner or later, according to the ſituation and different ſeaſon for rains; and after it flowers, the fruit ſoon ripens: but in clear open grounds it is ſooner ripe than in thick woods.

There is no great difficulty in curing or preſerving this fruit: this is for the moſt part done by the negroes, who climb the trees, and pull off the twigs with the unripe green fruit; after which, they carefully ſeparate the fruit from the twigs and leaves, and expoſe it to the ſun for many days. The more fragrant and ſmaller they are, they are accounted the better. That great phyſician, Sir Hans Sloane, obſerves, that this is deſervedly reckoned the beſt, moſt temperate, mild, and innocent of all ſpices.

The wild cinnamon, or more properly canella alba tree, alſo grows in this iſland. It riſes 20 or 30 feet high, having many branches and twigs hanging downward, and forming a very beautiful top. The bark conſiſts of two parts; the outward bark is as thin as a ſhilling; of a whitiſh, aſh or grey colour, with ſome white ſpots here and there upon it, and ſeveral ſhallow furrows of a darker colour, running variouſly through it. This bark is of an aromatic taſte. The inward bark is as thick as a crown piece, ſmooth, and of a whiter colour than the outward: it has a much more biting and aromatic taſte, ſomewhat like that of cloves.

All the parts of this tree, when freſh, are very hot and aromatic; but the inward bark of the tree is what is chiefly in uſe both in the Engliſh plantations in the Weſt Indies and in Europe, and it is eaſily cured by only cutting off the bark, and letting it dry in the ſhade. The ordinary ſort of people in the Weſt Indies uſe it inſtead of all other ſpices, it being thought very good to conſume the immoderate humidity of the ſtomach, to help digeſtion, and expel wind. Rum loſes its diſagreeable ſmell if mixed with this bark. The tree grows in the ſavanna woods, and

is found on each ſide the road between Paſſage-Fort and the town of St. Jago de la Vega.

As great quantities of indigo have been produced in Jamaica, we ſhall alſo give ſome account of the manner in which it is cultivated and prepared. It thrives beſt in ſandy ground. The ſeed from whence it is raiſed, is yellow, round, and ſomewhat leſs than a tare. The ſoil is made light by hoeing; then trenches are dug like thoſe our gardeners prepare for peas, into which the ſeed is put about March: it grows ripe in eight weeks time, and in freſh broken ground will ſpring up about three feet high, but in others to no more than eighteen inches. The ſtalk is full of leaves of a deep green, and will, from the firſt ſowing, yield many crops in one year. When it is ripe, it is cut, and ſteeped in fats twenty-four hours; after which it is cleared from the firſt water, and put into proper ciſterns, where, when it has been carefully beaten, it ſettles in about eighteen hours. In theſe ciſterns are ſeveral taps, which let the clear water run out, and the thick is put into bags of about three feet long, made commonly of oſnabrugs, which being hung up, all the liquid part drops away; and when it will drop no longer, what remains is put into wooden boxes about three feet long, fourteen inches wide, and one and a half deep: theſe boxes are placed in the ſun till the indigo is very hot, and then taken in till the extreme heat is over; and this is repeated till it is ſufficiently dried.

In land that proves proper for indigo, the labour of one hand will in a year's time produce between eighty and a hundred weight, if no accidents happen; for indigo, as well as other commodities in thoſe parts, is ſubject to many: the moſt common are, blaſting and worms, by which it is frequently deſtroyed.

There is plenty of cotton in Jamaica, which is finer than that in the Caribbee iſlands. There are beſide three ſorts of bark uſed by the tanners, who tan better here than in England; and in ſix weeks

the leather is ready to work into ſhoes. There are here alſo abundance of dyers woods, as fuſtic, red-wood, logwood, and others. The iſland alſo abounds in drugs and medicinal herbs; as guaiacum, china-root, ſarſaparella, caſſia, tamarinds, vanelloes, &c. But the ſugar-cane is the chief glory of Jamaica; for by this the inhabitants have acquired immenſe riches; and this iſland is ſaid annually to produce near 100,000 hogſheads.

As to the number of people in the iſland, various computations have been made; but according to the beſt accounts, there are ſaid to be near 100,000 white people, and four times as many negroes.

The water is unwholeſome near the ſea-coaſts, and has deſtroyed great numbers of ſeamen at Port Royal. The common diſtempers of the country are fevers, fluxes, and the dry gripes.

BARBADOES may be eſteemed the beſt peopled, and beſt cultivated iſland, not only in America, but in the whole known world. It is not eaſy to determine by whom this ſmall iſland was diſcovered; but it is moſt probable it was firſt ſeen by the Portugueſe. However, the firſt Engliſhmen who landed there are ſaid to have been ſome of Sir William Curteen's ſeamen, that were cruiſing in thoſe ſeas, in the latter end of the reign of king James I. and they at their return to England reporting that the ſoil was fruitful, ſome adventurers went thither in order to plant it: but the iſland being covered with wood, and there being ſcarce any other animals upon it than hogs, it was a long time before it anſwered their expectation.

In the firſt year of the reign of king Charles I. the property of this iſland was granted by that prince to James earl of Carliſle, of whom ſeveral adventurers purchaſing ſhares, tranſported themſelves thither, and began with planting tobacco; which not ſucceeding, they proceeded to try cotton and indigo, which yielded conſiderable profit. But little ſugar was made in the iſland till the year 1647, when colonel Modiford, colonel Walrond, colonel Drax, and

ſeveral

ſeveral other cavaliers, not chuſing to ſtay in England after the king's death, converted their eſtates into money, and tranſported themſelves to Barbadoes, with ſuch machines and implements as were proper for carrying on ſugar-works: and had ſuch ſucceſs, that in a few years colonel Drax is ſaid to have acquired an eſtate of 7 or 8000 l. per annum.

In the year 1661, king Charles II. purchaſed the property of this iſland of the lord Kinnoul, heir to the earl of Carliſle, and appointed the lord Willoughby of Parham governor; upon which the colony granted a duty of four and a half per cent. for the ſupport of the civil government, and for maintaining the forces and fortifications of the iſland: which duty is ſaid to amount to 10,000 l. a year.

The iſland of Barbadoes is ſituated in the Atlantic Ocean, in 30° north latitude, and 59° weſt longitude. It is of a triangular form; and where broadeſt about 25 miles from north to ſouth, and only 15 from eaſt to weſt. It is, for the moſt part, a plain level country, with ſome ſmall hills of an eaſy aſcent; and though it was covered with woods when the Engliſh firſt ſettled there, they have been all cut down to make way for plantations of ſugar-canes, which at preſent take up almoſt the whole iſland; for their very corn, fleſh, and fiſh, are for the moſt part imported from the northern colonies.

There is ſcarce an harbour in the iſland; the beſt is that of Bridge Town, in Carliſle bay, which lies open to the weſtward, but is ſecure from the north-eaſt. This is here the conſtant trade-wind, and blows all night and all day; except when they have their tornadoes and hurricanes, which uſually happen in the three ſummer months, and blow from every quarter. At ſuch times the ſhips in the bay are in the utmoſt danger of being wrecked on ſhore, if they cannot get out to ſea; and therefore they ſeldom attempt to ride out theſe ſtorms.

The coaſt is defended on the eaſt from the invaſion of an enemy by rocks and ſhoals; and on the weſt,

weſt, where it is moſt expoſed to a deſcent, breaſt-works and redoubts are erected for its ſecurity. There is ſcarce a ſtream in the iſland that deſerves the name of a river, though there are two on the eaſt-ſide, to which they have given the names of Scotland river and Joſeph's river. However, they have good water in their wells almoſt all over the iſland, and do not dig very deep for it: they have alſo large ponds and reſervoirs, where they preſerve rain water.

Their heats are not ſo exceſſive as in the ſame latitude on the eaſt-ſide of the continent of America; the air being conſtantly refreſhed by the trade-wind in the day-time, which increaſes as the ſun advances, and abates as the ſun declines; but there being no mountain on the iſland, the trade-wind is not interrupted.

The only town of any conſequence in the iſland is that of Bridge Town, or St. Michael's, in Carliſle-bay, which was formerly encompaſſed with a moraſs that rendered it unhealthy; but this has been in a great meaſure drained. However, the low ſituation of the town renders it ſtill ſubject to inundations. It is ſaid to contain 1000 or 1200 houſes built with brick and ſtone *; and there are commodious wharfs and quays for loading and unloading of goods. The chief produce of the iſland, as has been already intimated, is ſugar; of the molaſſes, or dregs of which, they make great quantities of rum: they have alſo ſome cotton, indigo, and pimento.

They have good poultry and ſea-fiſh, but no freſh water fiſh; and all manner of proviſions are ſo dear, that there is no dining at an ordinary under a crown a head. Freſh meat is indeed a rarity, and chiefly the food of people of condition; the reſt are glad of ſalt pork, beef and fiſh, imported from the northern colonies; from whence alſo comes their wheat, flour,

* This town was lately almoſt wholly burnt down; and very handſome ſubſcriptions have been raiſed in England, for rebuilding it.

Indian-

Indian-corn, beans, peas, &c. They make bread alſo of the Caſſavi root, and the negroes feed on yams, potatoes, and other roots and fruits.

The government reſembles that of the reſt of our American iſlands, the governor and council being appointed by the crown; theſe, with the houſe of repreſentatives, are veſted with the legiſlative power, and make laws for the government of the iſland. The white people are ſaid to have been once upward of 40,000, and they are at preſent computed to be near 30,000. The negroes, mulattoes, and meſtich ſlaves are about 100,000, and their militia conſiſts of about 1500 horſe and 3000 foot.

The Iſland of St. CHRISTOPHER's was diſcovered by Chriſtopher Columbus, in his firſt voyage to America. He gave it the name of St. Chriſtopher's from the figure of its mountains, there being in the upper part of the iſland a very high mountain, bearing on its ſummit another of a ſmaller ſize, as St. Chriſtopher is painted like a giant carrying our Saviour on his back. It is ſituated in 17° north latitude, and is about 73 miles in circumference. Sir Thomas Warner, an Engliſh adventurer, and Monſieur Deſnambue, a French gentleman, who commanded for the French in America, arrived at St. Chriſtopher's on the ſame day, and both took poſſeſſion of the iſland in the names of their reſpective maſters. It was then inhabited by the Caribbees; and the Spaniards uſed to put in there, in their Weſt India voyages, to take in freſh water. Theſe laſt were in ſuch good terms with the Caribbees, that they ſometimes left their ſick there, of whom the natives took great care.

The above gentlemen left ſome of their men in the iſland, and returned to their reſpective countries for recruits; when their maſters approving of their conduct, ſent them back in 1626 with ſupplies of men and proviſions, and with commiſſions to be governors of the new ſettlement. Monſieur Deſnambue arrived

there about the month of January, 1627, with about 300 people, after a long and ſickly voyage. The Engliſh colony had as many men; and Sir Thomas had proceeded a good way in his ſettlement before Monſieur Deſnambue's arrival. The two governors therefore, to prevent any differences among the people, ſettled the limits of their reſpective territories, on the 13th of May, 1627, and a league offenſive and defenſive was concluded between them againſt all enemies; after which they proceeded with great harmony.

However, the Engliſh receiving ſupplies of men and proviſions from London, throve better than the French; and not only became ſtrong enough to keep what they had, but to ſpare men for ſettling plantations at Nevis, of which Sir Thomas Warner took poſſeſſion, and left a ſettlement there in the year 1628.

Mean while the Spaniards being alarmed at the progreſs of the Engliſh and French in the Caribbee iſlands, thought the ſafety of their own plantations required their preventing thoſe nations from ſettling in their neighbourhood; and therefore, in the following year, ſent Frederic de Toledo with a fleet of 24 ſhips and 15 frigates, to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh and French of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's.

Don Frederic having them now in his power, commanded all on the iſland to depart immediately, on pain of being put to the ſword: but as there was not room in his ſhips to carry off all the families, he conſented that thoſe who could not embark, ſhould ſtay till they could be tranſported.

Don Frederic having made theſe regulations, weighed anchor, taking with him 600 of the Engliſh, who were fitteſt for his ſervice. But he was no ſooner gone, than the Engliſh, who were left, reſolved to go on with the ſettlement: when the French, who were got no farther than Antigua and Montſerrat, ſent a ſhip for intelligence to St. Chriſtopher's, and being

being informed that the Spaniards were gone, and the Engliſh buſy in rebuilding and planting, they rejoiced at this happy and unexpected turn; and ſailing back to St. Chriſtopher's, reſumed the poſſeſſion of their former habitations.

The Engliſh now continued carrying on their colony till they were able to ſpare more men for their ſettlements at Barbuda, Montſerrat and Antigua, which were peopled and planted by Sir Thomas Warner. At the ſame time the Dutch made themſelves maſters of St. Euſtatia, and the French took poſſeſſion of ſome other iſlands. Mean while the Engliſh built themſelves good houſes at St. Chriſtopher's, and had wives and families; but the French lived in huts after the Caribbean manner, and as few of them married, they took leſs pains to furniſh themſelves with the neceſſaries and conveniences of life. Monſieur Deſnambue died about the year 1637, and Sir Thomas Warner did not long ſurvive him; but before this laſt gentleman's death, the colony was ſo increaſed, that the Engliſh in the iſland amounted to between 12 and 13,000.

The chief employment of the firſt planters was cultivating tobacco, by which they gained a competent livelihood; but afterward, the quantity lowering the price, they in ſeveral places applied themſelves to the planting of ſugar, indigo, and cotton, and in a little time became a rich and flouriſhing people. Both the Engliſh and French lived cordially together, till the war in the reign of Queen Anne, when the Engliſh drove the French entirely from their ſettlements; and the country being yielded to the crown of Great Britain, by the peace of Utrecht, all the French territory was ſold for the benefit of the public; which muſt have produced a very large ſum, ſince out of it were paid 80,000 l. for the marriage of the late princeſs of Orange.

The middle part of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's being extremely mountainous, it is thought there

are not above 24,000 acres of land fit for ſugar in the whole iſland; and yet it annually produces about 10,000 hogſheads of that valuable commodity.

The Iſland of MONTSERRAT, ſo called by the Spaniards, from its reſembling a mountain in Catalonia of the ſame name, famous for a chapel dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin, is ſituated in 17° north latitude, and is about three leagues in length, and almoſt as much in breadth; ſo that it ſeems to be round. It was diſcovered by Columbus, at the ſame time with St. Chriſtopher's; but no ſettlement was made upon it, till Sir Thomas Warner procured a ſmall colony to ſettle there in 1632.

The climate, ſoil, animals, trade, and productions of this iſland are the ſame with thoſe of the other Caribbee iſlands. This, however, is fuller of mountains, which are covered with cedars, and other trees, that afford a delightful proſpect to the ſea. The vallies are fruitful, and better ſupplied with freſh water than thoſe of Antigua; and it is computed, that at preſent there are in this iſland about 4500 white people, and about 12,000 negroes. As Montſerrat is leſs than any other of the Caribbee iſlands, it annually produces only 2500, and ſometimes 3000 hogſheads of ſugar.

BARBUDA, which was planted by Sir Thomas Warner as early as Montſerrat, is ſituated in 17° 30′ north latitude, and is about 15 miles long. The firſt colony was ſo often diſturbed by the Caribbees, that the people were frequently forced to deſert their plantations; for there hardly paſſed a year in which they did not make one or two incurſions, and that generally in the night, for they durſt not attack them by day; ſo that the Engliſh grew weary of dwelling in a place where they were ſo much expoſed to the fury of the natives, and therefore deſerted the iſland. But the Caribbees diminiſhing daily in number, and the Europeans on the other iſlands increaſing, the

Engliſh

Engliſh again poſſeſſed themſelves of Barbuda: in a few years the inhabitants amounted to 500, and they are now increaſed to 1200 perſons. The proprietor chuſes the governor, and has the ſame privilege as the other lords-proprietors in their ſeveral juriſdictions in America. The inhabitants apply themſelves chiefly to the breeding of cattle; for which there is always a good market in the ſugar iſlands.

The next plantation is that of Anguilla, or SNAKE-Iſland, ſo called from its figure; it being long, narrow, and winding almoſt about. It is near St. Martin's, from whence it may be ſeen, and lies in 18° 12′ north latitude. The country is extreamly level, and there is not a mountain in it; however, it is very woody. In the broadeſt part there is a pond, about which the Engliſh ſettled in the year 1650, and applied themſelves to the planting of corn and the breeding of tame cattle. They were afterward joined by ſome people from Barbadoes, and other of the Engliſh Caribbee iſlands, who, incorporating with the reſt, learned their manners; and though they are ſaid to amount to 150 families, or 900 ſouls, yet they have neither miniſter nor magiſtrate among them. They apply themſelves to farming, in which they have had very good ſucceſs, and live like the old patriarchs, every man being a kind of ſovereign in his own family.

ANTIGUA, or ANTEGO, is the laſt of theſe iſlands, originally ſettled by the Engliſh. Sir Thomas Warner attempted to form a ſettlement there, but without ſucceſs. However, Francis lord Willoughby, who was governor of Barbadoes, obtained a grant of the iſland of Antigua, in 1663, from king Charles II. and planted a colony in it about three years after. It is ſituated in 16° 11′ north latitude, and 63° weſt longitude from London. It is of a circular form, about 20 miles in diameter, and near 60 in circumference. The climate is far from being agreeable, ſince

it is hotter than in Barbadoes, and very ſubject to hurricanes. The ſoil too is ſandy, and great part of the land is overgrown with wood. The greateſt diſadvantage is, there being but few ſprings, and not ſo much as a ſingle brook in the whole iſland, the people depend chiefly upon rain-water, for which they are ſometimes diſtreſſed.

Antigua is divided into five pariſhes, four of which are towns, as St. John's town, to the northward, which is the capital of the iſland, and conſiſts of about 200 houſes; and Falmouth, Parham, and Bridge Town, to the ſouthward. The other pariſh is St. Peter's.

Beſide St. John's harbour, which is the moſt commodious, there are other very good ones, as Five-Iſland harbour, ſo called from five little iſlands to the weſtward of the iſle of Carliſle-bay; Engliſh harbour, at the bottom of which is Falmouth town, defended by Charles fort; next to it is Willoughby-bay; on the eaſt ſhore is Green Bay; off which is Green Iſland; next to this is Nonſuch harbour, which is a ſpacious bay. There are alſo ſeveral little iſlands, particularly to the northward. The forts are in pretty good repair: Monk's Hill fort is mounted with 30 pieces of ordnance; the other fort erected at St. John's harbour is mounted with 14; and there are ſeven other batteries for the defence of ſo many landing-places.

There are greater plenty of cattle and other beaſts, eſpecially veniſon, in this, than in any other of the Caribbee iſlands: the other animals and vegetables are much the ſame. When Antigua was firſt planted, ſugar, indigo, ginger, and tobacco were its chief commodities; but now ginger and indigo are ſeldom cultivated there. The ſugar and tobacco were, however, both bad of the ſort. But the planters of Antigua have ſince improved their art, and now make as good Muſcovado ſugar as any of our ſugar iſlands; and

and though there is not much tobacco planted in this iſland, yet what there is now, is not ſo bad as it was formerly. The number of people in this colony are computed at 1500.

MARTINICO is ſituated in 14° 30′ north latitude, and in 61° weſt longitude. It is about 13 leagues in length and ſeven in breadth. From the inland parts, which are mountainous, fall numerous rivulets; which after watering the country, flow into the ſea. It has ſeveral bays well fortified; the chief of which is the great bay of Port Royal, the capital of the iſland, and the bay of St. Pierre, a large town about ſeven leagues from it to the north-weſt. In Auguſt 1766, a moſt terrible hurricane drove all the ſhips in the harbour here aſhore, blew down moſt of their houſes and ſugar-works, deſtroyed their canes, and killed 800 blacks and whites. This iſland was inhabited by Indians when the French firſt attempted a ſettlement in the year 1635, but the French overpowered, and cruelly extirpated the ancient inhabitants. The governor of all the Caribbee iſlands reſides there; and it is the ſeat of the ſovereign council, whoſe juriſdiction extends, not only throughout the Antilles, but over the French ſettlements in St. Domingo and Ortugo. This iſland was taken by the Engliſh, after an obſtinate ſiege, in the beginning of the year 1762; and reſtored to the French by the peace of Verſailles in the ſame year.

GUADALOUPE, the largeſt of the Caribbee iſlands, is ſituated in 16° north latitude, and 61° weſt longitude, about 30 leagues from Martinico. It is remarkable for the height of its clifts and mountains. It is about 15 leagues in length and twelve in breadth, divided into two parts by a ſmall arm of the ſea, or narrow paſſage, through which no ſhip can venture; and the inhabitants croſs over in a ferry from one part to the other. The country to the weſt is called Baſſe-Terre, where ſtands the metropolis of the ſame name, and where the citadel and chief ſtrength of the iſland

lies: the part to the eaſt is called Grande Terre. The French began to ſettle this iſland about the year 1632, but being unacquainted with the nature of the ſoil, they were in danger of ſtarving, and afterward the planters were almoſt ruined by their diviſions: but ſince the beginning of the preſent century, the inhabitants have flouriſhed ſo much, that they make more ſugar than any of the Britiſh iſlands, except Jamaica. The ſoil is rich, and eſpecially at Grande Terre ſo fertile, that the canes are frequently cut ſix times without replanting; and in Martinico, the fineſt plantation never produces more than ſeven crops, and but very few have done that. Indeed the far greateſt part of what are called Martinico ſugars, are the real produce of Guadaloupe, the inhabitants of which were obliged to ſend them to Martinico, before they could be tranſported to France.

In 1759, a fleet of 10 men of war beſides frigates and bomb ketches, under the command of Commodore Moore, with a body of land forces, commanded by General Hopſon, after making an unſucceſsful attack on Martinico, ſailed for Guadaloupe; which ſurrendered to the Engliſh on the 1ſt of May 1759. It was reſtored by the enſuing peace; together with Marigalante, four little iſlands called the Santos, Deſeada, and Petit Terre, which alſo ſurrendered to the Engliſh. Marigalante is about 20 miles in length, and about 15 in breadth, and is ſituated in 16° north latitude a little to the ſouth-weſt of Guadaloupe.

GRANADA is 25 leagues in circumference, and has ſeveral good bays and harbours, ſome of which are fortified. It is ſituated in 11° 15′ north latitude, about 30 leagues ſouth-weſt of Barbadoes, and about the ſame diſtance north of Andaluſia. There are ſeveral ſmall iſlands that lie to the north end of Granada which are called the Granadillas; which after being reduced were all ceded to us at the late peace; and with the three heretofore neutral iſlands of Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago; conſtitute one of the

the four governments in America. See the proclamation, p. 265.

The ſmaller Caribbee iſlands, are St. Bartholomew's, which is about 10 leagues north of St. Chriſtopher's, and was taken in the year 1689, by the Engliſh, under the command of Sir Timothy Thornhill; but reſtored to the French at the peace of Ryſwick. St. Martin's, another iſland of ſmall conſequence, ſituated a little to the north-weſt of Bartholomew's. St. Croix, or Santa Cruz, ſituated in 17° 30′ north latitude, about 20 leagues eaſt of St. Chriſtopher's, and has been contended for by the Engliſh, French, Spaniards, and Dutch. Diſerada, or Deſeada, the deſirable iſland, ſo called by Columbus, from its being the firſt land he diſcovered in his ſecond voyage to America in 1493. It is ſituated about ten leagues north-eaſt to Guadaloupe, and is a ſmall inconſiderable iſland, not ſo fruitful as ſome of the others.

As ſugar is the ſtaple commodity of the French iſlands, it is proper to give a ſhort account of the quantities raiſed in them. In Martinico it is computed that the inhabitants make one year with another 10,000 hogſheads of about 600 weight each: In Guadaloupe, about 40,000 hogſheads are made; and in the other iſlands about 1000 hogſheads altogether. Theſe iſlands alſo draw a conſiderable profit, from cacao, or the chocolate nut, and from ginger, caſſia, and pimento, which is what is called Jamaica pepper or all-ſpice, of which they export conſiderable quantities. The inhabitants alſo ſend home rocou for the uſe of dyers, and a variety of medicinal gums and wet ſweetmeats of ſeveral kinds; and ſeveral ſorts of valuable woods uſed in dying, in-laying, and cabinet work. Mr. Savary obſerves, that the goods exported from France to theſe iſlands, annually, amounted to about four millions of livres, or near 200,000 l. of our money; for which they brought home nearly double the value in Weſt India commodities.

On the ſouth ſide of the French part of Hiſpaniola or St. Domingo, is AVACHE, a little iſland, at about twelve leagues diſtance from the continent. It is only about eight leagues in compaſs, but it has a very good ſoil, and two or three tolerable ports, one of which is capable of receiving ſhips of 300 tons. It lies very conveniently for carrying on a trade with the Spaniſh colonies on the continent of America.

CAYENNE, an iſland ſituated in 5° north latitude and in 53° weſt longitude, was ſettled by the French in the year 1625. It lies cloſe to the continent of Guiana, from whence it is only ſeparated by the rivers Ovia on the eaſt, and the Cayenne on the weſt, from which laſt it takes its name. It is eighteen or twenty leagues in circumference, and is about ſeven leagues long and three broad. As it ſtands high on the coaſt, it at a diſtance ſeems part of the continent. It has three principal capes, thoſe of Fort St. Lewis, Seperon, and Matiuri, and its banks are moſtly covered with mangroves, which grow in ſalt water, and from the roots other trees riſe up without end.

This iſland is rendered uncomfortable by the long rainy ſeaſon which happens every year; by the ſcorching cloſe air, both by day and night, and by the vapours exhaled from the ſwampy grounds, which occaſion many diſorders. The inhabitants are alſo continually tormented with gnats, flies, worms, ants, bugs, and other vermin; which altogether render the place very diſagreeable.

The ſoil produces plenty of ſugar canes which, though ſmall and ſhort-jointed, yield very plentifully. It alſo abounds in ananas, or pine-apples, oranges, lemons, figs, papaias, ebony, and violet wood, and alſo in indigo and cotton, as well as in ſeveral ſorts of American and European grain.

The principal town is alſo called Cayenne, and ſtands on the weſt part of the iſland in an advantageous ſituation, nature and art having equally contributed to fortify it.

The

The trade carried on with France, chiefly conſiſts in proviſions, as ſalt meat, flour, wine, brandy, linen, ſtuff, ſhoes, and other wearing apparel, tools, and ſmall wares; in return for which they export ſugar, dying woods, and for the moſt part the ſame kind of commodities as the leeward iſlands. The number of whites, excluſive of the ſoldiers, are ſaid to amount to about 1500, and the whole number of people, including the ſoldiers and ſlaves, is ſaid to be about 3000.

St. EUSTACHIUS, or St. EUSTATIA, is ſituated to the north-weſt of St. Chriſtopher's in 17°. 40′. north latitude. This iſland, which is only five leagues in compaſs, appears to the ſouthward like a high mountain riſing out of the ſea, but ſtretches out to the northward, into a pretty good country. The number of plantations upon it, and the comfortable ſituation of its inhabitants do great honour to the induſtry of the Dutch: yet there is not a drop of water in the iſland but what they are ſupplied with from the clouds, which they preſerve ſo carefully in ciſterns, that they are very ſeldom diſtreſſed. The top of the mountain is covered with a vaſt wood, in the middle of which, inſtead of the point that might be expected, as it riſes in the form of a ſugar loaf, there is a wide and deep cavern, which was probably once a volcano.

To the north-weſt of this iſland, lies that of SABA, in 17° 35′ north latitude. It at firſt ſight appears to be a rock, but the Dutch governors of St. Euſtatia have ſettled a ſmall colony there, in a valley, where they raiſe tobacco and other things. Both theſe iſlands have the misfortune of not having a ſingle port; St. Euſtatia, however, has a good road where all the ſhips ride, and the Dutch have erected a pretty ſtrong fort to command it.

We come now to the iſland of St. MARTIN, ſituated in 18° 15′ north latitude, a little inconſiderable iſland, about ſeven leagues in length, and four in breadth, and yet inhabited by two powerful nations: though its ſmallneſs is not its only diſadvantage, for

the climate is far from being wholeſome, and the ſoil cannot be very fertile, as there are no rivers, and very few ſprings, and even theſe are dried up in the hot ſeaſons; ſo that the inhabitants are obliged to have recourſe to their ciſterns of rain water: yet as inſignificant as this place may appear, it has been contended for, by the Spaniards, French, and Dutch.

In the iſland of St. Martin there is great plenty of a kind of tree, which both the Dutch and French call candle wood, for the ſmall ſticks ſerve for candles, and, at the ſame time they light the room, yield a very agreeable ſcent.

We are now to proceed to their other iſlands which lie nearer the Spaniſh coaſt, and from which they receive ſtill greater advantages.

CURACAO, or as it is pronounced, and ſometimes written by the Dutch, Curraſſaw, is an iſland about nine or ten leagues long, and five broad, ſituated in 12° 40′ north latitude; but though the ſoil is far from being fruitful, and the climate ſtill farther from being either agreeable or healthy, yet ſuch have been the care and induſtry of the Dutch, that they receive great advantages from this ſmall, and to appearance inconſiderable country.

The harbour of Santa Barbara is on the ſouth ſide of the eaſt end of the iſland, but the chief harbour is about three leagues from the ſouth-eaſt end of the ſouth ſide, where the Dutch have a very good town, and a ſtrong fort: there is no anchoring at its entrance, but being got in, it is a place of great ſecurity. The Dutch town is for its ſize one of the fineſt in America, and it has every thing requiſite to render it commodious and agreeable, as far as the climate and ſoil will permit. The public buildings are very neat; the port is rendered as ſafe as poſſible, and though the entry is dangerous, yet the precautions taken by the government, for the ſervice of ſtrangers, not only free them from all difficulties, but render them alſo in a great meaſure inſenſible of any hazard: by theſe means it is become one of the moſt fre-

quented ports in the Weſt Indies. All kind of labour is here performed by engines, with ſuch dexterity, that ſhips are lifted at once into the dock, where they are carefully and effectually careened; and all nations are with equal readineſs furniſhed with proviſions, naval ſtores, ammunition, and even artillery.

BONAIRA and ARUBA are alſo two iſlands in the poſſeſſion of the Dutch, dependent upon the iſland of Curaçao. The former lies ten leagues to the eaſtward of that iſland, and is about 17 leagues in compaſs. The Dutch have a deputy governor, a guard of ſoldiers, and a conſiderable number of Indians, with a fort for the protection and ſecurity of the place. The iſland of Aruba lies ſeven leagues weſt from Curaçao; but though it is not very conſiderable, the inhabitants breed ſome cattle and a great many horſes: this renders it of ſervice to the chief colony, which it alſo furniſhes with a great quantity of garden ſtuff.

But to return to Curaçao: as this iſland is not above ſeven leagues from the Spaniſh coaſt, it is commodiouſly ſituated for carrying on a clandeſtine trade. This was firſt begun by the ſale of negroes, brought thither by the Dutch from their numerous ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea; but ſince the Engliſh at Jamaica have interfered in this trade, it has ſunk conſiderably.

It has been computed that in time of peace, the trade of this iſland did not produce leſs to the Dutch than five millions of florins per annum, which is about half a million ſterling. But in time of war the profit is much larger, for then every article of their commerce is vaſtly increaſed.

The only remaining iſland in this part of the world that we ſhall now mention, is that of St. THOMAS, which belongs to the Danes: it is ſituated in 18° north latitude, and is one of that cluſter of iſlands called the Virgins. Though this iſland is not above ſeven leagues in circumference, it is in a commodious

ſituation, and has an excellent port of an oval form, in a manner ſurrounded by two promontories, which defend the ſhips that lie within from almoſt all winds. In the bottom of this port is a ſmall fortreſs, and the king of Denmark has here a governor and a garriſon; notwithſtanding which, there is a large factory, on the iſland belonging to the Brandenburghers, the ſubjects of the king of Pruſſia.

The neighbourhood of the Spaniſh iſland of Porto Rico only at 17 leagues diſtance, ſecures the inhabitants from the danger of wanting proviſions, to which they would otherwiſe be expoſed: for though the ſoil is tolerably good, and every foot of it cultivated, yet it would not produce ſufficient for the maintainance of the inhabitants, who are very numerous.

The town of St. Thomas conſiſts of one long ſtreet, at the end of which is the Daniſh magazine, a large magnificent and convenient building. The Brandenburgh factory is alſo very conſiderable, and the perſons belonging to it are chiefly French refugees, who fled thither when the Proteſtants were expelled from the French iſlands. The chief produce of their plantations is ſugar, which is very fine grained, but made in ſmall quantities.

To this iſland the Spaniards are continually ſending large veſſels to purchaſe ſlaves. This is the chief ſupport of the Daniſh and Brandenburgh commerce, as theſe ſlaves are drawn from their ſettlements upon the coaſt of Africa, which, if they had not this vent for them, would have long ago become uſeleſs, and conſequently deſerted. The Spaniards alſo buy here, as well as at Curaçao, all ſorts of European goods, of which there is always a vaſt ſtock in the magazine, belonging chiefly to the Dutch. But though a prodigious deal of buſineſs is tranſacted in time of peace, in time of war it is vaſtly increaſed, for being a neutral port, the privateers of all nations reſort thither to ſell their prizes.

PROCLAMATION

For regulating the CESSIONS made to us by the laſt Treaty of PEACE.

GEORGE R.

WHereas We have taken into Our royal conſideration the extenſive and valuable acquiſitions in America, ſecured to Our crown by the late definitive treaty of peace concluded at Paris the 10th day of February laſt; and being deſirous, that all Our loving ſubjects, as well of Our kingdom as of Our colonies in America, may avail themſelves, with all convenient ſpeed, of the great benefits and advantages, which muſt accrue therefrom to their commerce, manufactures, and navigation; We have thought fit, with the advice of Our privy council, to iſſue this Our royal proclamation, hereby to publiſh and declare to all Our loving ſubjects, that We have, with the advice of Our ſaid privy council, granted Our letters patent under Our great ſeal of Great Britain, to erect within the countries and iſlands, ceded and confirmed to Us by the ſaid treaty, four diſtinct and ſeparate governments, ſtiled and called by the names of Quebec, Eaſt Florida, Weſt Florida, and Grenada; and limited and bounded, as follows, viz.

Firſt, The government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coaſt by the river St. John, and from thence by a line drawn from the head of that river through the Lake St. John to the ſouth end of the Lake Nipiſſim; from whence the ſaid line, croſſing the river St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in

45 degrees of north latitude, paſſes along the high lands which divide the rivers that empty themſelves into the ſaid river St. Lawrence, from thoſe which fall into the ſea; and alſo along the north coaſt of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the coaſt of the gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Roſieres, and from thence croſſing the mouth of the river St. Lawrence by the weſt end of the iſland of Anticoſti, terminates at the aforeſaid river of St. John.

Secondly, The government of Eaſt Florida, bounded to the weſtward, by the gulph of Mexico and the Apalachicola river; to the northward, by a line drawn from that part of the ſaid river where the Chatahouchee and Flint rivers meet, to the ſource of St. Mary's river, and by the courſe of the ſaid river to the Atlantic Ocean; and to the eaſtward and ſouthward, by the Atlantic Ocean, and the gulph of Florida, including all iſlands within ſix leagues of the ſea coaſt.

Thirdly, The government of Weſt Florida, bounded to the ſouthward by the gulph of Mexico, including all iſlands within ſix leagues of the coaſt from the river Apalachicola to Lake Pontchartrain; to the weſtward, by the ſame lake, the Lake Maurepas, and the river Miſſiſſippi; to the northward, by a line drawn due eaſt from that part of the river Miſſiſſippi, which lies in 31 degrees north latitude, to the river Apalachicola or Chatahouchee; and to the eaſtward by the ſame river.

Fourthly, The government of Grenada, comprehending the iſland of that name, together with the Grenadines, and the iſlands of Dominico, St. Vincent, and Tobago.

And to the end that the open and free fiſhery of Our ſubjects may be extended to, and carried on upon the coaſt of Labrador, and the adjacent iſlands, We have thought fit, with the advice of Our ſaid privy council, to put all that coaſt from the river St. John's to Hudſon's ſtraits, together with the iſlands

of

of Anticoſti and Madelaine, and all other ſmaller iſlands lying upon the ſaid coaſt, under the care and inſpection of Our governor of Newfoundland.

We have alſo, with the advice of Our privy council, thought fit to annex the iſlands of St. John's, and Cape Breton, or Iſle Royale, with the leſſer iſlands adjacent thereto, to Our government of Nova Scotia.

We have alſo, with the advice of Our privy council aforeſaid, annexed to Our province of Georgia all the lands lying between the rivers Alatamaha and St. Mary's.

And whereas it will greatly contribute to the ſpeedy ſettling Our ſaid new governments, that Our loving ſubjects ſhould be informed of Our paternal care for the ſecurity of the liberties and properties of thoſe, who are and ſhall become inhabitants thereof; We have thought fit to publiſh and declare, by this Our proclamation, that We have, in the letters patent under Our great ſeal of Great Britain, by which the ſaid governments are conſtituted, giving expreſs power and direction to Our governors of Our ſaid colonies reſpectively, that ſo ſoon as the ſtate and circumſtances of the ſaid colonies will admit thereof, they ſhall, with the advice and conſent of the members of Our council, ſummon and call general aſſemblies within the ſaid governments reſpectively, in ſuch manner and form as is uſed and directed in thoſe colonies and provinces in America, which are under Our immediate government; and We have alſo given power to the ſaid governors, with the conſent of Our ſaid councils, and the repreſentatives of the people, ſo to be ſummoned as aforeſaid, to make, conſtitute, and ordain laws, ſtatutes and ordinances for the public peace, welfare and good government of Our ſaid colonies, and of the people and inhabitants thereof, as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England, and under ſuch regulations and reſtrictions as are uſed in other colonies; and in the mean time, and until

ſuch

ſuch aſſemblies can be called as aforeſaid, all perſons inhabiting in or reſorting to Our ſaid colonies, may confide in our royal protection for the enjoyment of the benefit of the laws of Our realm of England; for which purpoſe We have given power under Our great ſeal to the governors of Our ſaid colonies reſpectively, to erect and conſtitute, with the advice of Our ſaid councils reſpectively, courts of judicature and public juſtice within Our ſaid colonies, for the hearing and determining all cauſes, as well criminal as civil, according to law and equity, and as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England; with liberty to all perſons, who may think themſelves aggrieved by the ſentences of ſuch courts, in all civil caſes, to appeal, under the uſual limitations and reſtrictions to Us, in Our privy council.

We have alſo thought fit, with the advice of Our privy council as aforeſaid, to give unto the governors and councils of Our ſaid three new colonies upon the continent, full power and authority to ſettle and agree with the inhabitants of Our ſaid new colonies, or with any other perſons who ſhall reſort thereto, for ſuch lands, tenements and hereditaments, as are now or hereafter ſhall be in Our power to diſpoſe of, and them to grant to any ſuch perſon or perſons, upon ſuch terms, and under ſuch moderate quit-rents, ſervices and acknowledgments, as have been appointed and ſettled in Our other colonies, and under ſuch other conditions as ſhall appear to Us to be neceſſary and expedient for the advantage of the grantees, and the improvement and ſettlement of Our ſaid colonies.

And whereas We are deſirous, upon all occaſions, to teſtify Our royal ſenſe and approbation of the conduct and bravery of the officers and ſoldiers of Our armies, and to reward the ſame, We do hereby command and impower Our governors of Our ſaid three new colonies, and all other Our governors of Our ſeveral provinces on the continent of North America, to grant, without fee or reward, to ſuch reduced officers

officers as have ſerved in North America during the late war, and to ſuch private ſoldiers as have been or ſhall be diſbanded in America, and are actually reſiding there, and ſhall perſonally apply for the ſame, the following quantities of lands, ſubject at the expiration of ten years to the ſame quit-rents as other lands are ſubject to in the province within which they are granted, as alſo ſubject to the ſame conditions of cultivation and improvement, viz.

To every perſon having the rank of a field officer, 5000 acres.

To every captain, 3000 acres.

To every ſubaltern or ſtaff officer, 2000 acres.

To every non-commiſſion officer 200 acres.

To every private man 50 acres.

We do likewiſe authoriſe and require the governors and commanders in chief of all Our ſaid colonies upon the continent of North America, to grant the like quantities of land, and upon the ſame conditions, to ſuch reduced officers of Our navy of like rank as ſerved on board Our ſhips of war in North America at the times of the reduction of Louiſbourg and Quebec in the late war, and who ſhall perſonally apply to Our reſpective governors for ſuch grants.

And whereas it is juſt and reaſonable, and eſſential to Our intereſt and the ſecurity of Our colonies, that the ſeveral nations or tribes of Indians, with whom We are connected, and who live under Our protection, ſhould not be moleſted or diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of ſuch parts of Our dominions and territories as not having been ceded to or purchaſed by Us, are reſerved to them or any of them as their hunting grounds, We do therefore, with the advice of Our privy council, declare it to be Our royal will and pleaſure, that no governor or commander in chief in any of Our colonies of Quebec, Eaſt Florida, or Weſt Florida, do preſume, upon any pretence whatever, to grant warrants of ſurvey, or paſs any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their reſpective governments,

as deſcribed in their commiſſions; as alſo that no governor nor commander in chief in any of Our other colonies or plantations in America, do preſume for the preſent, and until Our further pleaſure be known, to grant warrant of ſurvey, or paſs patents for any lands beyond the heads or ſources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the weſt and north-weſt; or upon any lands whatever, which not having been ceded to or purchaſed by Us as aforeſaid, are reſerved to the ſaid Indians, or any of them.

And We do further declare it to be Our royal will and pleaſure, for the preſent as aforeſaid, to reſerve under Our ſovereignty, protection and dominion, for the uſe of the ſaid Indians, all the lands and territories not included within the limits of Our ſaid three new governments, or within the limits of the territory granted to the Hudſon's bay company, as alſo all the lands and territories lying to the weſtward of the ſources of the rivers which fall into the ſea from the weſt and north-weſt as aforeſaid; and We do hereby ſtrictly forbid, on pain of Our diſpleaſure, all Our loving ſubjects from making any purchaſes or ſettlements whatever, or taking poſſeſſion of any of the lands above reſerved, without Our eſpecial leave and licence for that purpoſe firſt obtained.

And We do further ſtrictly enjoin and require all perſons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently ſeated themſelves upon any lands within the countries above deſcribed, or upon any other lands, which having not been ceded to or purchaſed by Us, are ſtill reſerved to the ſaid Indians as aforeſaid, forthwith to remove themſelves from ſuch ſettlements.

And whereas great frauds and abuſes have been committed in the purchaſing lands of the Indians, to the great prejudice of Our intereſts, and to the great diſſatisfaction of the ſaid Indians: In order therefore to prevent ſuch irregularities for the future, and to the end that the Indians may be convinced of Our juſtice and determined reſolution to remove all reaſonable

ſonable cauſe of diſcontent, We do, with the advice of Our privy council, ſtrictly enjoin and require, that no private perſon do preſume to make any purchaſe from the ſaid Indians of any lands reſerved to the ſaid Indians within thoſe parts of Our colonies, where We have thought proper to allow ſettlement; but that if at any time any of the ſaid Indians ſhould be inclined to diſpoſe of the ſaid lands, the ſame ſhall be purchaſed only for Us, in Our name, at ſome public meeting or aſſembly of the ſaid Indians, to be held for that purpoſe by the governor or commander in chief of Our colony reſpectively, within which they ſhall lie: And in caſe they ſhall lie within the limits of any proprietary government, they ſhall be purchaſed only for the uſe and in the name of ſuch proprietaries, conformable to ſuch directions and inſtructions as We or they ſhall think proper to give for that purpoſe. And We do, by the advice of Our privy council, declare and enjoin, that the trade with the ſaid Indians ſhall be free and open to all Our ſubjects whatever; provided that every perſon, who may incline to trade with the ſaid Indians, do take out a licence for carrying on ſuch a trade, from the governor or commander in chief of any of Our colonies reſpectively, where ſuch perſons ſhall reſide, and alſo give ſecurity to obſerve ſuch regulations as We ſhall at any time think fit, by Ourſelves or by Our commiſſaries, to be appointed for this purpoſe, to direct and appoint for the benefit of the ſaid trade: And We do hereby authoriſe, enjoin and require the governors and commanders in chief of all Our colonies reſpectively, as well thoſe under Our immediate government, as thoſe under the government and direction of proprietaries, to grant ſuch licences without fee or reward, taking eſpecial care to inſert therein a condition, that ſuch licence ſhall be void, and the ſecurity forfeited, in caſe the perſon, to whom the ſame is granted, ſhall refuſe or neglect to

obſerve

obſerve ſuch regulations as We ſhall think proper to preſcribe as aforeſaid.

And We do further expreſsly enjoin and require all officers whatever, as well military as thoſe employed in the management and direction of Indian affairs within the territories reſerved, as aforeſaid, for the uſe of the ſaid Indians, to ſeize and apprehend all perſons whatever, who, ſtanding charged with treaſons, miſpriſions of treaſon, murders, or other felonies and miſdemeanours, ſhall fly from juſtice and take refuge in the ſaid territory, and to ſend them under a proper guard to the colony where the crime was committed of which they ſtand accuſed, in order to take their trial for the ſame.

Given at Our court at St. James's, the 7th day of October, 1763, in the third year of Our reign.

GOD Save the KING.

CONCLUSION

TO THE

DISCOVERIES, VOYAGES, and DESCRIPTIONS,

relating to

AMERICA.

AS every article of information relating to America muſt be intereſting to a Britiſh reader, the ſeveral materials we have collected for that end, cannot be more profitably concluded, than by adding ſome general reflections relating to the conduct of the Britiſh ſettlers in North America, toward the Indian natives; and of Great Britain, the mother country, toward her American colonies. If authority can add any ſtrength to reaſoning, the reader may have the ſatisfaction of knowing, that they are the remarks of governor Pownall; whoſe ſtation in America was not only a ſanction of his abilities, but gave him the beſt opportunities of information reſpecting our American affairs.

This gentleman deduces his ſubject as follows.

"The different manner in which this globe of earth is poſſeſſed, and occupied by the different ſpecies of the human race which inhabit it, muſt form the ſpecific difference in their intereſt and politics.

"The human race, which are at preſent found on this earth, may be divided into three families; generically, and in their eſſential properties, diſtinct and different each from the other. And, perhaps, it is to this natural truth, that the heaven-directed pen of the author of the books of Moſes refers, when he

gives preciſely, and only, three ſons to Noah. Theſe three different ſpecies, or race, are—The white race —the red—the black. It is not barely the colour of theſe two firſt, which diſtinguiſhes them; the form of their ſkull, and their hair, where there has been no mixture, is ſpecifically different from each other; and a true Indian will not judge by any other diſtinction: the black race has wool inſtead of hair, as alſo a form of ſkull different from each. Theſe books, after having given a philoſophical account, cloathed in drama, of the origin of things, ſeems to confine its real narrative to the hiſtory of the white family; to that race of people who had been land-workers from the beginning; who, wherever they have ſpread themſelves over the face of this globe, have carried with them the art of cultivating vines, and fruit-trees, and the cultivation of bread corn; who, wherever they have extended themſelves, have become ſettlers, and have conſtantly carried with them the ſheep, goat, oxen and horſe, domiciliated and ſpecially applied to the uſes and labour of a ſettlement.

"The black family are not concerned in the preſent conſideration.

"The red family, wherever found, are wanderers. The Tartars are in one part wandering herdſmen; and in other parts, hunters and fiſhermen. The American inhabitants are the ſame race of people from one end of the continent to the other; and are the ſame race or family as the Tartars, preciſely of the ſame colour, of the ſame form of ſkull, of the ſame ſpecies of hair,—not to mention the language and their names.

"America, in its natural ſtate, is one great foreſt of woods and lakes, ſtocked not with ſheep, oxen, or horſes; not with animals of labour, and ſuch as may be domiciliated, but with wild beaſts, game and fiſh; vegetating not with bread-corn, but with a ſpecies of pulſe, which we call maize, of which there is great doubt whether it be indigenous or not.—All there-

fore

fore that this country afforded for food or raiment muſt be hunted for. The inhabitants conſequently would naturally be, as in fact they were, *not land-workers, but hunters; not ſettlers, but wanderers.* They would therefore, conſequently, never have, as in fact they never had, any idea of property in land; of that property which ariſes from a man's mixing his labour with it. They would conſequently never have, as in fact they never had, any one communion of rights and actions as extended to ſociety; any one civil union; and conſequently they would never have any government. They know no ſuch thing as adminiſtrative or executive power, properly ſo called: they allow the authority of advice, a kind of legiſlative authority; but there is no civil coertion amongſt them: they never had any collective actuating power among the whole, nor any magiſtrate or magiſtrates to execute ſuch power.

"The race of white people migrating from Europe, ſtill continue land-workers, and have made ſettlements in parts of America which they occupy, and have tranſported thither bread-corn, ſheep, oxen, horſes, and other uſual and domeſtic animals, that are domiciliate with theſe ſettlers.

"They are a community—they are a ſociety—they live under government, and have fixed property in their lands, having fixed a permanent intereſt; which muſt ſubſiſt *under a continued ſeries of ſecurity.* The locality of the labour of theſe ſettlers, neceſſarily produces a reciprocation of wants and an intercommunion of ſupply, by exchange of mutual neceſſaries. This alſo leads to an intercourſe of commerce with others, who are not immediately within their community. And hence ariſes a commercial intereſt to theſe ſettlers.

"From the European deſire of having the furs and peltry of the Indian hunters, and from the Indian deſire of having the more uſeful and neceſſary tools and inſtruments of improved life; an artificial

reciprocation of wants has ariſen between the European ſettlers, and the original inhabitants of America, which hath gradually extended itſelf to many articles not at firſt called for. And from this intercourſe of commerce has ariſen a neceſſary relation of politics between them.

"The only true ſpirit that ought to actuate theſe politics, muſt ariſe from a due knowlege of the circumſtances and intereſts of each; and from a conſtant invariable attention to that compoſite intereſt which is formed by their alliance.

"The intereſt of a community of ſettlers muſt lie in *a permanent ſeries of ſecurity* to their cultured lands; as the making ſettlements is by the ſucceſſive yearly application of repeated labour, and of its eventual future effect. Settlers and land-workers want but ſmall tracts of land; but muſt have a fixed and permanent property therein. A nation of hunters require a much greater extent of country, in proportion to the wide extended produce of a hunt, to the local bounded produce of a farm or ſettlement; ſo that the Indian property of country conſiſts of two ſorts, their dwelling lands, and their hunt.

"The intereſt of a tribe of wanderers lies in the protection and ſupport of the aged, of the women and children; under the temporary locations of dwelling, which the ſeverity of the winter ſeaſon, the occaſion of the procuring pulſe in the ſeaſon of vegetation, and the times of parturition, render neceſſary even to wanderers.

"As fixed regulations and protection of trade, muſt be the eſſential ſpirit of the politics and the law of nations to a commercial nation*; ſo an exact and ſtrict

* Hunting being but the amuſement, the diverſion of a nation of ſettlers, the rights and laws of it may not appear as national points—but to a nation of hunters theſe become the national intereſts and the laws of nations.—A violation of theſe laws of nations, as ſubſiſting between nations of hunters, was the cauſe of the

ſtrict obſervance of the laws of ſporting, the protection of the game, and the moſt rigid ſanction of the *hunt*, (better perhaps underſtood by our ſportſmen than our politicians) become the *laws of nations* to an *hunting nation*.

"From theſe principles let us carry our conſiderations into facts.

"The European land-workers, when they came to ſettle in America, began trading with the Indians; and * obtained leave of the Indians to cultivate ſmall tracts as ſettlements or dwellings. The Indians having no other idea of property, than what was conformable to their tranſient temporary dwelling-places, eaſily granted this. When they came to perceive the very different effect of ſettlements of landworkers creating a permanent property always extending itſelf, they became very uneaſy; but yet, in the true ſpirit of juſtice and honour, abided by the effects of conceſſions which they had made; but which they would not have made, had they underſtood beforehand the force of them.

"From this moment the politics of the Indians were fixed on, and confined to two points. The guarding their dwelling-lands and their hunts from the encroachment of the European ſettlers; and their perpetually labouring, to our utter ſhame, in vain, to

the war between the Five-nation confederacy, and the Oilinois. The Ohio hunt, to the ſouth-eaſt of Lake Erie, was common to theſe nations; the laws of the hunt required, that at each beaver-pond, the Indians ſhould leave a certain number of males and females; the Oilinois, on ſome occaſion of pique, deſtroyed all. The Five Nations declared war againſt the Oilinois. An Indian war ends not but in the total reduction of the one or the other. The Oilinois were totally conquered. The conquered country, as well as the hunt, became the right of the Five Nations; and were, amongſt the reſt of their lands, put, by them, into the hands of the Engliſh in truſt.

* Perhaps New England may be an exception. The Indians began an unjuſt war againſt them: they conquered theſe Indians; and their claim is beſt, as well as juſtly, founded on conqueſt, which the Indians acknowlege.

eſtabliſh ſome equitable and fixed regulations in the trade carried on between them and the Europeans.

"The European encroachments, not only by the extent of their ſettlements, but by their preſuming to build forts on the Indians dwelling lands, and in the territories of their hunts, without leave, or by colluſion; and the impoſitions and frauds committed againſt the Indians in trading with them; have been the occaſions of conſtant complaint from the Indians, and the invariable ſource of Indian hoſtilities: and yet even theſe might have been ſurmounted, were it not that we have conſtantly added an aggravation to this injuſtice, by claiming a DOMINION in conſequence of a *landed poſſeſſion*. Againſt this the free ſpirit of an Indian will revolt, to the laſt drop of his blood: this will be perpetual, unremitted cauſe of war to them againſt us. Againſt it, they have at all times, and upon all occaſions proteſted, and they will never give it up. As long as we keep up this uſeleſs, faithleſs claim of dominion over them, ſo long ſhall we be embroiled in war with them. The European power may perhaps finally extirpate them, but can never conquer them. The perpetual increaſing generations of Europeans in America, may ſupply numbers that muſt, in the end, wear out theſe poor Indian inhabitants from their own country; but we ſhall pay dear, both in blood and treaſure, in the mean while, for our horrid injuſtice. Our frontiers, from the nature of advancing ſettlements, diſperſed along the branches of the upper parts of our rivers, and ſcattered in the diſunited valleys, amidſt the mountains; muſt be always unguarded, and defenceleſs againſt the incurſions of Indians. And were we able, under an Indian war, to advance our ſettlements yet farther, they would be advanced up to the very dens of thoſe ſavages. A ſettler, wholly intent on labouring on the ſoil, cannot ſtand to his arms, nor defend himſelf againſt, nor ſeek his enemy: environed with woods and ſwamps, he knows nothing of the country

try beyond his farm: the Indian knows every ſpot for ambuſh or defence. The farmer, driven from his little cultured lot into the woods, is loſt: the Indian in the woods, is every where at home; every buſh, every thicket, is a camp, from whence, at the very moment when he is ſure of his blow, he can ruſh upon his prey. The farmer's cow, or his horſe, cannot go into the woods, where alone they muſt ſubſiſt: his wife and children, if they ſhut themſelves up in their poor wretched loghouſe, will be burned in it: and the huſbandman in the field will be ſhot down while his hand holds the plough. An European ſettler can make but momentary efforts of war, in hopes to gain ſome point, that he may by it obtain a ſeries of ſecurity, under which to work his lands in peace: the Indian's whole life is a warfare, and his operations never diſcontinued. In ſhort, our frontier ſettlements muſt ever lie at the mercy of the ſavages: and a ſettler is the natural prey to an Indian, whoſe ſole occupation is war and hunting. To countries circumſtanced as our colonies are, an Indian is the moſt dreadful of enemies. For, in war with Indians, no force whatever can defend our frontiers from being a conſtant wretched ſcene of conflagrations, and of the moſt ſhocking murders. Whereas on the contrary, our temporary expeditions againſt theſe Indians, even if ſucceſsful, can do theſe wanderers little harm. Every article of their property is portable, which they always carry with them: and it is no great matter of diſtreſs to an Indian to be driven from his dwelling ground, who finds an home in the firſt place that he ſits down upon.

" If we entertain an idea of conqueſt, in ſupport of this ambitious folly of dominion, we muſt form ſuch a ſeries of magazines and entrepôts for ſtores, ammunition and proviſions; we muſt maintain in conſtant employ ſuch a numerous train of waggons for the roads, ſuch multitudes of boats and veſſels for the waters; we muſt eſtabliſh ſuch a chain of fortified

poſts; we muſt ſupport ſuch a numerous army; we muſt form and execute ſuch an enlarged and comprehenſive ſyſtem of command; as ſhall give us military poſſeſſion of the whole Indian country. Let now any ſoldier or politician conſider the enormous endleſs expence of all this conduct, and then anſwer to what profitable purpoſe ſuch meaſure leads; which may in a much better and juſter way be obtained.

"If our government conſiders this well, and will liſten to thoſe who are beſt verſed in Indian affairs, it will be convinced that honeſty is the beſt policy; and that our dominion in America, will be beſt and ſureſt founded in faith and juſtice, toward the remnant of theſe much injured natives of the country.

"The Indian lands are of two kinds——Their dwelling-land, where their caſtles are; and their hunting-ground.

"In the year 1684, the Five Nations, finding themſelves hard preſſed by the French and their Indians, did, by a treaty at Albany, put the lands and caſtles of the Mohawks and Oneidas *under the protection of the Engliſh government:* and the Engliſh accordingly undertook *the truſt* to guarantee them to theſe Indians. And as the external mark, by which this act and deed ſhould be anounced, the Indians deſired that the duke of York's arms might be affixed to their caſtles.

"The right of the Five Nation confederacy to the hunting lands of Ohio, Tieûckſouchrondite and 'Scaniaderiada, by the conqueſt they had made in ſubduing the Shaöanaes, Delawares, (as we call them) Twiƈtwes and Oïlinois, may be fairly proved as they ſtood poſſeſſed thereof at the peace of Reſwick, in 1697.

"In the year 1701, they put all their hunting-lands under the protection of the Engliſh, as appears by the records, and by the recital and confirmation thereof in the following deed.

"In the year 1726, the Seneccas, Cayougaes and Ononda-agaes acceded to the ſame terms of alliance, in

in which the Mohawks and Oneidas were already. So that the whole of the dwelling and hunting lands of the Five Nation confederacy were put under the protection of the Engliſh, and held by them IN TRUST, for and to the USE of theſe Indians and their poſterity.

" COPY of AGREEMENT with the Sachems of the FIVE NATIONS.

TO all people to whom this preſent inſtrument of writing ſhall come: Whereas the Sachems of the Five Nations did, on the nineteenth day of July, One thouſand ſeven hundred and one, in a conference held at Albany, between John Nanfan, Eſq; late lieutenant-governor of New York, give and render up all their land where the beaver-hunting is, which they won with the ſword, then eighty years ago, to Coorakhoo *, our great king, praying that he might be their protector and defender there; for which they deſired that their ſecretary might then draw an inſtrument for them, to ſign and ſeal, that it might be carried to the king; as by the minutes thereof, now in the cuſtody of the ſecretary for Indian affairs at Albany, may fully and at large appear.

WE, Kanakarighton and Shanintſaronwe, Sinneke Sachems; Ottſoghkoree Dekaniſoree and Aenjeueratt, Cayouge Sachems; Raclyakadorodon and Sadageenaghtie, Onondaga Sachems, of our own accord, free and voluntary will, do hereby ratify, confirm, ſubmit and grant; and by theſe preſents do (for ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, and in behalf of the whole nations of Sinnekes, Cayouges and Onondages) ratify, confirm, ſubmit and grant unto our moſt ſovereign Lord George, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. his heirs and ſucceſſors for ever, all the ſaid land and beaver-hunting, *to be protected and defended by his ſaid majeſty*, his heirs and ſucceſſors, *to and for the* USE *of us, our heirs and ſucceſſors, and the*

* It is by this name that they mean the King of England.

ſaid

ſaid three nations: and we do alſo, of our own accord, free and voluntary will, give, render, ſubmit and grant, and by theſe preſents do, for ourſelves, our heirs and ſucceſſors, give, render, ſubmit, and grant unto our ſaid ſovereign Lord King George, his heirs and ſucceſſors for ever, all that land lying and being ſixty miles diſtance, taken directly from the water, into the country, beginning from a creek called Canahôge, on the Lake Oſwego, all along the ſaid lake, and all along the narrow paſſage from the ſaid lake to the falls of Oniâgara, called Canaquaraghe; and all along the river of Oniâgara; and all along the Lake Cataraqui to the creek called Sodons, belonging to the Sinnekes; and from Sodons to the hill called Tegechunckſerôde, belonging to the Cayouges; and from Tegechunckſerôde to the creek called Cayhunghâge, belonging to the Onondages: all the ſaid lands, being of the breadth of ſixty Engliſh miles as aforeſaid, all the way from the aforeſaid lakes or rivers, directly into the country, and thereby including all the caſtles of the aforeſaid three nations, with all the rivers, creeks and lakes, within the ſaid limits, *to be protected and defended by his ſaid majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors for ever, to and for our* USE, *our heirs and ſucceſſors, and the ſaid three nations.*——

In teſtimony whereof, we have hereunto ſet our marks, and affixed our ſeals, in the city of Albany, this fourteenth day of September, in the thirteenth year of his majeſty's reign, *annoque Domini* 1726.

Signed, ſealed, and delivered, in the preſence of us

Philip Livingſton, Mynderſt Schuyler,
Peter Vanbrugh, Lawrance Clauſen.

Secretary's office, New York. The preceding is a true copy of the record in lib. patents, numb. 9. p. 253, 254. Examined and compared therewith by

GEO. BANYAR, Deputy Secretary."

"In-

"Inſtead of executing *this truſt* faithfully and with honour, by extending to the Indians our civil protection againſt the frauds of the Engliſh, and our military protection againſt the attempts of the French, we have uſed this truſt only as a pretence to *aſſume a dominion* over them—We have ſuffered the Engliſh ſettlers to profit of every bad occaſion to defraud them of their lands—We have never made any effectual regulations to prevent their being defrauded in their trade; and until our own intereſt appeared to be affected, we abandoned them to their own chance and force, oppoſed to the ſtrength of a powerful enemy. Nay, when at laſt we thought neceſſary, for the ſake, not of national faith and honour; for the ſake, not of theſe our faithful allies; but for the ſake of our own ſafety and intereſt, to interfere, in oppoſing the French encroachments, we took it up as diſputing the empire of America with the French: not as protecting and guarding the Indian lands and intereſt to their uſe, agreeable to the ſacred truſt by which we are bound.—And thus theſe ſavages (as we to our own ſhame call them) repeatedly told us, "That both we "and the French ſought to amuſe them with *fine* "*tales* of our ſeveral upright intentions: that both "parties told them, that they made war for the pro-"tection of the Indian rights; but that *our actions* "plainly diſcovered, that the war was only a conteſt "who ſhould become maſters of that country, which "was the property neither of the one nor the other." Since we have driven the French government from America, we have confirmed this charge of the Indians againſt us; by aſſuming that dominion which in faith and juſtice we cannot ſay we have gained over the Indians, which, in fact, we have not gained; and which, be it remembered, will coſt more blood and treaſure before we do gain it, than it is for the honour and intereſt of Great Britain to expend in ſo bad and uſeleſs a cauſe. While theſe poor tribes of hunters remain, it will be our own fault if they d-

not remain in perfect harmony and good alliance with us. As hunters, their intereſt can never interfere with ours, as ſettlers; but, on the contrary, will become the ſource of the natural and moſt profitable trade to us as traders. They are continually wearing away; and as they diminiſh or retire, they cede their lands to us in peace: which we, thus in time as faſt as we can really want them, may poſſeſs in right and juſtice, untainted with the impeachment of having been gained by murder and fraud. While therefore we do remain a great and juſt nation, as we pride ourſelves Great Britain is, we ſhould abhor the black baſe thought of uſing the power which Providence hath given us, to the ruin and deſtruction of theſe brave and free people; of theſe people who gave us our firſt ſettlement in this country, and have lived with us, except under ſome temporary interruptions, in a ſeries of faithful alliance."———

With all due deference, however, to the ingenious ſentiments of this gentleman, whoſe hypotheſis we muſt ſuppoſe to be grounded on his own knowlege of theſe people whom he aſſumes to be wanderers *conſtitutionally*, rather than ſuch from the want of civilization; we have only to hint, that from the authority of Major Rogers and other authentic information, the nations to the ſouthward *do* cultivate their lands, and breed cattle. If we turn our eyes ſtill farther ſouthward into the Spaniſh ſettlements, however the enſlaved inhabitants may now have ſunk into barbariſm, the heretofore *populous* nations of Mexico and Peru cannot be ſuppoſed to have ſubſiſted themſelves by hunting, but to have been ſettlers: and it is admitted that this whole continent is inhabited by one caſt of inhabitants.

The antient natives of Britain, as deſcribed by Caeſar, with their painted bodies, cloathed with the ſkins of beaſts, ſhifting their habitations for the convenience of paſturage, and divided into petty nations or tribes, ever agitated by inteſtine jars; appear to have borne

borne a very near reſemblance to the preſent North Americans. The Britons, diſcovered and enſlaved by more improved ſtrangers, arrived ſlowly at greater degrees of knowlege and civilization, through a long apprenticeſhip under the bondage of Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans: taught by, and incorporated with whom, all the world has ſufficient experience of what Britons are at this time. The Indians, of *North* America at leaſt, with all their complaints, have not experienced ſuch hard uſage as our anceſtors had; but it ſhould ſeem, as if human nature found no propenſity to quit ſavage manners, and apply to the arts of civil life, without the application of force, or the obligation of neceſſity.

With reſpect to the encroachments complained of by the Indians, though their reſentment of the preſent injury they receive thereby, may prevent their ſeeing the true ſtate of the caſe, or tracing its conſequences; theſe encroachments are evidently the neceſſary effects of the growth of our flouriſhing ſettlements: which by an increaſe of inhabitants muſt unavoidably extend into the country, and call for thoſe tracks to be cultivated, which hitherto lay wild. A country can maintain but very few inhabitants by hunting, compared with what may ſubſiſt on it, by cultivating the land. Inſtead therefore of being driven out of their native ſoil, the Indians will only be driven to unite in ſociety and cultivate it: thus will the arts and improvements of civil life inſinuate themſelves among them; and thus will their ſavage manners be humanized. And though the viſionary philoſopher, who profeſſes to ſet up what he calls natural ſociety, in oppoſition to civil, may dwell on the vices and evils which may be carried among the Indian tribes, together with our arts and manners; a fair compariſon will be far from terminating againſt the advantages of improved ſociety. A cultivated country, full of inhabitants, under the regulation of laws, amply ſupplied with neceſſaries themſelves, and capable of

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ſupplying the wants of other countries; has little to apprehend from a compariſon with the ſame country, of neceſſity required to be *thin* of people, and lying *waſte*, that the animals required for the ſubſiſtence of the ſcattered tribes, may have room to prowl about: theſe tribes alſo under an equal obligation to maintain a continual warfare with each other, excited by hereditary antipathies, and diſputes concerning their hunting grounds. Such deſtructive jars being abſolutely neceſſary to keep ſuch inhabitants from increaſing beyond what the quantity of game their country affords, will ſupport.——But to return.

Mr. Pownall's obſervations on the policy by which the trade of our colonies with the mother country is regulated, and his hints for the improvement of it to the mutual advantage of both; appear to be extreamly judicious.

He obſerves, "The general principle of the laws of trade regulating the colony trade, is, that the colonies ſhould not, on one hand, be ſupplied with any thing but from a *Britiſh market*, nor export their produce any where but to a *Britiſh market*. In the application of this principle, the preſent laws direct, except in ſome ſpecial particulars, that the colonies ſhall import all their ſupplies *from Britain*, and carry all their produce *to Britain*.

If now, inſtead of confining this market for the colonies to Britain only, which is a partial and defective application of the general principle whereon the act of navigation is founded; this colony trade was made, amidſt other courſes of trade, an occaſion of eſtabliſhing *Britiſh markets even in other countries*, the true uſe would be derived to the general intereſt from theſe advantageous circumſtances; while in particular, the colonies and the mother country would be mutually accommodated. In the firſt caſe, the general intereſt, perverted to partial purpoſes, becomes ſo far forth obſtructed; in the ſecond, it would be carried by the genuine ſpirit of it to its utmoſt extent.

tent. If, under certain reſtrictions, ſecuring alſo thoſe duties which the produce of the colonies, carried to market, ought to pay to the mother country, the colonies were permitted to export their produce (ſuch as are the baſis or materials of any Britiſh manufacture excepted) directly to foreign countries, provided they ſold it to any *Britiſh houſe* eſtabliſhed in ſuch a place, and were alſo permitted, if they brought their ſupplies from a *Britiſh houſe* eſtabliſhed in thoſe parts, to ſupply themſelves with the natural fruits and produce of that country (all manufactures that any way interfere with the Britiſh manufactories excepted) paying there to ſome Britiſh officer, or upon their arrival in the colonies, the ſame duties as they would have paid by purchaſing the ſame commodities in England; every end propoſed by the principle of the act of navigation would be anſwered: the exports of the colonies would be encouraged; and the *Britiſh market* greatly extended.

The colonies would not only trade to, and be ſupplied by, a *Britiſh market*; but would become an occaſion of eſtabliſhing that Britiſh market in foreign countries. The ſame reaſons of commerce, which, in a narrower view, became the grounds for eſtabliſhing factories at Peterſburgh, Riga, Hamburgh, Liſbon, Cadiz, &c. would on a more general and extenſive baſis become the foundation for eſtabliſhing and building up *theſe Britiſh markets* in every region to which our trade extended itſelf. For while it neceſſarily enlarged the ſpecial intereſt of the colonies, it would enlarge it only at Britiſh markets, and to the final profit of the Britiſh general commerce. The profits of ſuch markets finally centering in Great Britain. If this maxim be not true, that the profits of the factories ſettled in foreign ports finally center in Great Britain, the meaſure of eſtabliſhing ſuch, is falſe policy; if the maxim be true, the permitting our colony exports to go directly to the ports where ſuch factories are eſtabliſhed, is not contrary to the

principle on which the act of navigation aroſe, but becomes coincident with, and aiding to it; in extending the Britiſh navigation and Britiſh markets, and ſecuring the final profits thereof to Britain only.

If this method of reaſoning be found not contrary to the principle of the act of navigation; if this meaſure, at the ſame time that it encourages the trade of our colonies, is found to do it in a way ſubſervient to the general commerce of Great Britain, extending the Britiſh markets, and ſecuring the final balance of profit to Britain only: if this ſpirit of adminiſtration, ſo far as government has a right to direct the courſe of trade, be adopted in this part of it; the great points which it has to ſecure, are firſt, that the colony exports to, and the ſupplies purchaſed by them from theſe foreign ports, *be ſold and bought at a Britiſh market only.*——The government has a right to extend its laws to theſe colony traders, and to the factories eſtabliſhed in foreign ports.——It can therefore, partly by ſuch laws as it finds proper to enact, for the regulation of this factory trade, and partly by obliging theſe colony traders to give bond before their departure from the colonies, ſecure and confine all theſe tranſactions of that commerce, which is permitted at any ſuch port, to a Britiſh market only: the laws that eſtabliſhed theſe being a favour extended to the colonies, and promoting the intereſt of theſe factories, would, as all laws of trade ſhould do, execute themſelves; and by giving the requiſite powers to a conſul, or naval reſident there, would be eaſily adminiſtered by ſuch officer.

The next point to be guarded, would be the ſecuring thoſe duties which this trade ought to pay to the government of Great Britain: if the ſame duties were paid, or ſecurity for them taken, in theſe foreign ports; as would be or ſhould be paid by the colony trade, if the traders were ſtill obliged to come to Britain; every end would be anſwered to the government revenue, and theſe charges might be ſufficiently ſecured

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by obliging all theſe traders to ſell under bond. The arrangements to be taken in ſuch caſe ought to be that of adding to the office of conſul, ſuch powers as in the colonies, before the eſtabliſhment of ſpecial revenue officers there, were given to the naval officer, or to eſtabliſh a naval officer. The conſul or naval officer, in this branch of his adminiſtration, ſhould be ſubordinate to the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, and the lords of the treaſury. If the duties were collected by him in the ports of his diſtrict, he ſhould account and give ſecurity for the ſame; if bonds only, as ſecurity for the payment at ſuch Britiſh or plantation ports, were given, he ſhould keep the regiſter of the ſame, and correſpond with the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, and ſuch officers as they direct, as to the fulfilling, cancelling, or proſecuting to effect ſaid bonds. Theſe general arrangements taken, together with ſuch further ſpecial regulations, as the experience of the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms ſhould ſuggeſt; the revenue of the colony and factory trade, under this mode of adminiſtration, would be well ſecured, chearfully paid, and eaſily collected.

Under the adminiſtration of ſuch meaſures, there does not appear any reaſon why all the produce of the Britiſh colonies, which are not the baſis of, or which do not interfere with the Britiſh manufactures, might not be carried directly to a Britiſh market at a foreign port: and why the carrying of rice to foreign ports might not be extended, under theſe laws, to all ſuch foreign ports whereat a Britiſh factory is eſtabliſhed. Under this mode of commerce, can any ſufficient reaſon upon earth ſubſiſt, why the colony traders ſhould not be permitted to load at theſe ports, the fruits, wine, oil, pickles, or other produce of the countries; and alſo ſuch raw unmanufactured produce, as would not interfere with the manufacture of Great Britain; inſtead of being obliged to come to Britain to buy or load here, after the expence of an unneceſ-

fary voyage, thoſe very commodities which they might have bought in a *Britiſh market*, at the port which they left. Why not any of theſe as well as ſalt, as well as wines from the Madeiras and weſtern iſles? In the ſame manner, by the ſame law, why may not our colony traders be permitted to carry ſugar, ginger, tobacco, rice, &c. to ſuch ports in the rivers Weſer and Elbe, in the Sound and in Ruſſia, whereat a Britiſh factory is, or may be eſtabliſhed? It can never be right policy to ſuffer labour in vain in a community; it is juſt ſo much loſt to the community: and yet this coming round by England is labour in vain. If the ſubordinacy of the colony-trade, and the duties ariſing thereon, can be by any other means ſecured, it is ſo much labour loſt. The two points of a *Britiſh market*, and the revenue of the duties being ſecured; why may not theſe traders be permitted to load at theſe ports directly for the colonies, hemp, yarn, and ſuch coarſe linens, as do no way interfere with the Britiſh manufactories? Theſe meaſures being taken, which would prove to be the true means of encouraging the colony-trade, the beſt method to put a ſtop to the contraband trade carried on in this branch of buſineſs, and the true grounds whereon to eſtabliſh the general commercial intereſt of Great Britain; government could not be too ſtrict in enforcing the execution of the laws of trade, nor too ſevere in puniſhing the breach of them. Wherever they found theſe traders endeavouring to carry from theſe ports to the colonies raw ſilk, ſilks, velvets, foreign cloths, laces, iron, ſteel, arms, ammunition, ſails or rigging, or any manufactures whatever, that interfere with the manufacture of Great Britain: whenever they found theſe traders endeavouring to carry from the colonies to thoſe ports, any dying-wood whatever, indigo, cotton, ſilk, bees or myrtle-wax, flax-ſeed, naval ſtores, furs, ſkins or peltry, hides, proviſion, grain, flour, bread or biſcuit; whale-oil, blubber, bone, or any other fiſh-

oil, or tallow, or candles, with an exception perhaps to myrtle and ſpermaceti candles, government could not be too ſtrict to reſtrain them. Under proper regulations, the rum of the northern colonies ſhould be carried to Africa, and the ſale of it to the French on the Banks of Newfoundland encouraged; if ſuch vent could be procured, we ſhould thereby reap at the leaſt ſome ſhare even of the French fiſhery.

In the above reviſion of, and the propoſed regulations for the colony trade, as connected with that of Europe, it will be ſeen that all mention of Eaſt India goods is purpoſely omitted. A ſpecial meaſure might be contrived of ſupplying the colonies with Eaſt India goods, in a way that would effectually put a ſtop to that contraband trade; by which it is complained they are at preſent ſupplied: in a way by which one of the greateſt marts in the world, with every attendant advantage to the Britiſh general commerce, and the ſpecial intereſt of the Eaſt India trade, might be eſtabliſhed.

If meaſures were at this juncture taken, between the government and the Eaſt India company, ſo that an Eaſt India ſhip might annually ſtop at ſome iſland in the Weſt Indies, the traders, not only of the Weſt Indies, but of North America, would ſupply themſelves with every advantage at ſuch mart, not only for their own proper conſumption, but alſo for a trade of the greateſt extent: and this mart, in return, would be to the Eaſt India company, the collector of all the ſurplus ſilver of America, and perhaps even of ſome of the gold and ivory of Africa alſo. The extenſive advantages of this meaſure cannot but be ſeen; nor would this any way interfere with that ſupply with which the Eaſt India trade, by way of the Manillas, furniſhes the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, ſo far as our Eaſt India company may be ſuppoſed to be concerned; but would, in other reſpects, open a better channel of trade between the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, which our

company muſt command. The difficulties in the execution lie in ſecuring to government the revenue that ſhould ariſe from the duties duly paid by this trade, and in ſecuring the company againſt the perverſion of this trade to the profit of their officers and ſervants.——If ſome of the iſlands ſurrendered to us, as the Granadas, or of the neutral iſlands, were made the place of this mart, with a grant of lands to the company; at the ſame time that a profit might derive hence to the company, the collateral good advantage to the public would ariſe, of having created a very beneficial ſettlement.

In the ſame manner, ſome reviſion of the ſtate of the trade of the colonies of the ſeveral maritime powers amongſt each other will be neceſſary. The laws and ordonnances of theſe do in general prohibit all trade of foreign colonies with their own: and yet, without ſome ſuch trade as ſupplies the Spaniſh provinces with Britiſh goods and proviſions; as ſupplies the Britiſh colonies with Spaniſh ſilver; as ſupplies the French iſlands with Britiſh lumber, fiſh, proviſions, horſes, and live ſtock; as ſupplies the Britiſh colonies with French moloſſes; the trade and culture of theſe colonies would be greatly obſtructed and impaired: and yet, notwithſtanding this fact, our laws of trade, by an impracticable duty, extend to the prohibiting the importation of French moloſſes into our colonies. If the government, under this law, could prevent effectually this importation, not only into the northern colonies, *but into the Britiſh iſles alſo*; the reward of that pains would be the deſtruction of a beneficial branch of trade, perhaps of driving the Britiſh American diſtillery into the French, Dutch, or Daniſh iſles; or of forcing the French, contrary to their own falſe policy, into a profitable manufacture of that produce which they now ſell as refuſe materials. It is needleſs to point out here the very eſſential change that this would make in the colony trade.——On the contrary, it is the duty of govern-

government to permit, nay even to encourage, under proper regulations, theſe branches of trade: in the firſt place, in order to extract out of the foreign colonies, to the benefit of the Britiſh commerce, as much as poſſible the profits of theſe colonies, and which is more material, in order to create a neceſſary dependance in the trade and culture of thoſe colonies for their ſupplies on the Britiſh commerce. When it is remembered that the law, which lays a duty equal to a prohibition, on the importation of French moloſſes in the Britiſh colonies, was obtained at the ſolicitation of the Britiſh iſles, it will be ſeen, that the obtaining this law is not ſo much meant to prohibit totally the introduction of French moloſſes into the Britiſh trade, as to determine a ſtruggle between the Weſt India and North American traders, who ſhould have the profits of it. And thus, from the predominant intereſt of theſe partial views, has government been led to embarraſs the general courſes of its trade. But as the Weſt India traders ſee that this law has not, never had, and never will have the effect propoſed, they will be better reconciled to its ceaſing: and as government muſt now, after the experiment, ſee the falſe policy of it, there is no doubt but that it will ceaſe, ſo far as to reduce the duty to a moderate and practicable charge, ſuch as will be paid, and ſuch as will raiſe to the crown a very conſiderable revenue thus paid.

The governor obſerves, "that he does not ſpeak this by gueſs; but, from a compariſon of the quantity of ſugars and moloſſes brought to account in the cuſtom-houſe books of the *King's revenue*, with the quantity of the ſame article, in the ſame ports, brought to account in the impoſt-books of the *colony revenue*, for ſix years together; could, with ſome preciſion, mark the extent of it. He apprehends, that two-pence per gallon on foreign moloſſes imported into any Britiſh plantation; and ſo in proportion of ſugars, was the beſt rate at which to fix this duty.

that being thus *moderate*, it might be eaſier, and with leſs alarm and oppoſition collected; and might therefore the ſooner introduce the practice of fair trade, and the ſooner become an *effective revenue*. But a groundleſs clamour is raiſed, which repreſents the rate fixed by the late revenue-act as deſtructive of the American diſtillery, as ruinous to the American fiſhery, as a prohibition of the returns made from the foreign iſlands for the North American fiſh; without any fact ſtated, or calculation fairly made, on which ſuch aſſertions found themſelves.

Some reviſion alſo will be neceſſary in the laws about naval ſtores, eſpecially that reſpecting the maſts. The preſent law, under an idea of preſerving the white-pine or maſt-trees, directs, That no white-pines ſhall be cut or felled within the limits of any townſhip, if not actually private property.—— This part of the law ariſes from a miſtaken apprehenſion of a townſhip; there being no lands within ſuch, but what are private property.—2dly, That no pines out of a townſhip, of the dimenſions of 24 inches and upwards, diameter, at the heighth of 20 inches from the ground, ſhall be felled.—This part of the law is *felo de ſe*.—Thoſe who find their profits in cutting down theſe trees for logs, or making ſhingles, &c. or who know the embarraſſments which would ariſe to their property, if they ſhould ever apply for a grant of theſe lands, by letting ſuch pine-trees, the property of the crown, grow there, never (if they have not other means to evade this law) will permit theſe pines to come to *this dimenſion* which makes them royal property. The falſe policy of this law, and the defects in the eſtabliſhment of an office of ſurveyor-general of his majeſty's woods, will ſoon, if not obviated, be felt in the ſcarcity and price of maſts; which will be the effect of it. The neceſſity of their going a great diſtance from the rivers for the maſts has already taken effect; and the caſe of there being none within any practicable diſtance

tance will ſoon follow. The navy-office finding that their maſt ſhips do come regularly hitherto to England, cannot entertain any fear of ſuch want; and it will be the intereſt of others to ſuppreſs and contradict this fact: yet it is a fact, and will be ſoon known in its effects. On the contrary, if it is conſidered how diſproportionate a value the price of the pine-tree growing bears to the price of the maſt when brought in the middle of winter, over the ſnow, with 70 or 80 yoke of oxen to the water-ſide; if, inſtead of aiming to make theſe trees, thus growing, *royal excluſive property*, the crown was not only to permit a free maſting in lands not granted, and to make the maſt-trees of all dimenſions, *private property*, on lands actually granted; but alſo (as it is done in other caſes of naval ſtores) to give a bounty, beſide the price, to the perſon who ſhould bring down any ſuch maſts to the water-ſide, it would have an immediate effect in ſupplying the crown with maſts at a much cheaper rate, and in the preſervation of theſe trees, thus become a branch of trade.

Were ſome ſuch arrangements taken for a reviſion and further eſtabliſhment of the laws of trade, upon the principle of extending the Britiſh general commerce, by encouraging the trade of the colonies, in ſubordination to, and in coincidence therewith; the trade of the colonies would be adminiſtred by that true ſpirit from whence it roſe, and by which it acts: and the true application of the benefits which ariſe to a mother country from its colonies would be made. Under this ſpirit of adminiſtration, the government, as I ſaid above, could not be too watchful to carry its laws of trade into effectual execution.—But under the preſent ſtate of thoſe laws, and that trade; there is great danger that any ſeverity of execution, which ſhould prove effectual in the caſes of the importation into the colonies of foreign European and Eaſt India goods, might force the Americans to trade for their imports, upon terms, on which

the trade could not ſupport itſelf; and therefore become, in the event, a means to bring on the neceſſity of theſe Americans manufacturing for themſelves. Nothing does at preſent, with that active and acute people, prevent their going into manufactures, except their proportionate dearneſs of labour, as referred to the terms on which they can import; but increaſe the price of their imports to a certain degree, let the extent of their ſettlements, either by policy from home or invaſion of Indians from abroad, be confined, and let their foreign trade and navigation be, in ſome meaſure, ſuppreſſed; their paper-currency limited within too narrow bounds, and the excluſion of that trade which hath uſually ſupplied them with ſilver-money too ſeverely inſiſted upon;—this proportion of the price of labour will much ſooner ceaſe to be an object of objection to manufacturing there, than is commonly apprehended. The winters in that climate are long and ſevere; during which ſeaſon no labour can be done without doors. That application therefore of their ſervants labour, to manufactures of home conſumption; which under any other circumſtances would be too dear for the product created by it, becomes, under theſe circumſtances, all clear gain. And if the coloniſts cannot on one hand purchaſe foreign manufactures at a reaſonable price, or have not money to purchaſe with; and there are, on the other hand, many hands idle which uſed to be employed in the navigation; and all theſe, as well as the huſbandmen, want employment; theſe circumſtances will ſoon over-balance the difference of the rate of labour in Europe and in America. And if the colonies, under any future ſtate of adminiſtration, which they ſee unequal to the management of their affairs, once come to feel their own ſtrength in this way; their independence on government, at leaſt on the adminiſtration of government, will not be an event ſo remote as our leaders may think, which yet nothing but ſuch falſe

policy

policy can bring on. For, on the contrary, put their governments and laws on a true and conſtitutional baſis; regulate their money, their revenue, and their trade, and do not check their ſettlements; they muſt ever depend on the trade of the mother country for their ſupplies: they will never eſtabliſh manufactures, their hands being elſewhere employed; and the merchants being always able to import ſuch, on * terms that muſt ruin the manufacturer. Unable to ſubſiſt without, or to unite againſt the mother country, they muſt always remain ſubordinate to it, in all the tranſactions of their commerce, in all the operation of their laws, and in every act of their government: the ſeveral colonies, no longer conſidered as demeſnes of the crown, meer appendages to the realm, will thus become united therein, members and parts of the realm, as eſſential parts of a one organized whole, *the commercial dominion of Great Britain.* The taking leading meaſures to the forming of which, ought, at this juncture, to be the great object of government.

* This is a fact too well known and underſtood to need any particular proof—but if need were, the writer of theſe papers could demonſtrate this from the prices of wool, hemp, and flax, and the labour of carding, dreſſing, ſpinning, weaving, &c. in North America, compared with the prices of the ſame articles of produce and labour in Britain. It is therefore an idle vaunt in the Americans, when they talk of ſetting up manufactures *for trade*; but it would be equally injudicious in government here to force any meaſure that may render the manufacturing for *home conſumption* an object of prudence, or even of pique in the Americans. And yet after all, ſhould any thing of this ſort extend itſelf to a degree that interfered with the exports of Great Britain to the colonies—the ſame duties of an exciſe which lie upon the manufactures of Great Britain, levied upon thoſe of America, would ſoon reſtore the balance. This conſideration, one might imagine, would induce thoſe who are prudent in America, to adviſe the reſt to moderation in their oppoſition.

THE

THE FIRST VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES; By VASQUEZ de GAMA.

BEfore a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies was diſcovered by ſailing round the ſouthern extremity of Africa; all the ſpices and rich goods of India, China, and the iſlands, were brought in the junks and barks of thoſe parts, to the port of Adlu, then a great and commercial city on the ſouthern coaſt of Arabia Felix. Here theſe veſſels unloaded and returned, while the merchants of Adlu, partly reladîng the goods in ſhips of their own, and partly ſending them by land-carriage to Jeddo, conveyed them up to the port of Suez at the bottom of the gulph or Red Sea. They were landed here, and carried over land on camels, and other carriages, to the river Nile *, a paſſage of

* The iſthmus that parts the gulph of Suez from the Mediterranean is ſaid to be about 50 miles broad; and ſeveral of the ancient kings of Egypt, ſenſible of the vaſt advantage it would be to cut a paſſage between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, attempted it at different times with immenſe labour and charge. We are informed by Herodotus, that in the time of Necus, or Pharaoh Necho, a plan was laid for it, which was obliged to be laid aſide, after 120,000 men had periſhed in the undertaking. This work was again reſumed under the Ptolemies, but was once more relinquiſhed; from the apprehenſion that the Red Sea being higher by three cubits than Egypt, would overflow it. However a ſafer expedient was fell upon, which was to dig a canal that ſhould join the Red Sea with the Nile. Upon this the ports of the latter began to grow very famed and opulent; and the cities of Coptus and Berenice, became the centre and mart for all the merchandize brought from India. But this canal being neglected went to ruin.

about

about 50 miles; and thence, to Alexandria, where the Venetian merchants, who then had that trade entirely in their own hands, received them, exported them chiefly to Venice; and from thence to all the trading ports of Europe.

This was the ancient, and at that time the only way of carrying on commerce between Europe and the Indies: it was the Portugueze who had the honour of firſt finding a direct communication with the eaſtern ſeas.

The Portugueze have been always famous for their application to maritime affairs: after they had driven the Moors out of their country, they followed them into their own, and, under the reign of King John the Firſt, defeated them in a great battle, and took from them the fortreſs of Ceuta, which ſtill remains in the power of the king of Spain.

It was to the zeal and magnanimity of the Infant Don Henry, the fifth ſon of King John, that the Portugueze ſtand indebted for all that glory which they have acquired by their diſcoveries and conqueſts in the eaſt: and we may juſtly conſider the attempts made by them at this juncture as the more extraordinary, ſince their country was but juſt recovered from a long and dangerous civil war; the power of their prince very far from being great, his finances very low, and the country ſo indifferently peopled, that he was obliged to have recourſe to other nations for men to recruit his armies, and to ſerve on board his fleets. Theſe were very far from being conſiderable, in compariſon of the fleets that were then employed by the crown of Spain, and the republics of Italy. Yet under ſuch diſcouragements this ſpirit of trade and navigation not only ſprung up, but proſpered; and this too, notwithſtanding that many of their ſtateſmen were very averſe to ſuch undertakings, from the danger and difficulties that attended them: nor could they in all probability have been carried into execution, but from the zeal of the clergy, who, out of a

deſire

deſire of propagating the Chriſtian faith, promoted them to the utmoſt of their power.

By comparing the force of the kingdom of Portugal with the conqueſts gained by the Portugueze in the Eaſt Indies, the reader will be ſatisfied, that there was nothing in it more than a nation's turning their thoughts to that for which nature deſigned them: for with reſpect to Eaſt India voyages, as the art of navigation then ſtood, the Portugueze were better ſeated than any other people in Europe: and their diſcoveries are of the greater importance, conſidering the great alteration made in the commerce of all Europe, by the finding out a direct paſſage to the Eaſt Indies.

The Infant Don Henry Count de Viſeo was a prince endowed with all the great qualities that diſtinguiſh heroes from other men. He had ſhewn his courage in his youth in the wars againſt the Moors; but he was far from valuing himſelf on the power of deſtroying or making miſerable his fellow-creatures: and therefore thought the proper object of valour was the facing thoſe dangers that hindered the proſecution of ſuch deſigns as might be beneficial to the human ſpecies. He reſolved therefore to make himſelf maſter of the Canaries, which were then in the hands of Maciot de Bethancourt, who held them under a grant from the King of Caſtille; and who for a valuable conſideration made over his right to Prince Henry about the year 1406. He ſent Ferdinand de Caſtro, who was at that time maſter of his houſhold, to take poſſeſſion of them; and conceiving that they might be of great uſe in the diſcovery of the coaſts of the great continent of Africa, which were then very little known, he began about the year 1410, to fit out ſhips for that ſervice, and took Spaniards, and others who were ſkilled in navigation, into his pay for that purpoſe.

The utmoſt limits of the ſouth-weſt parts of Africa, then known to the Portugueze, was a cape running out from the foot of Mount Atlas, the proper name

of

of which was Chaunar, but called by the ſeamen Cape Non; ſituated in the latitude of 28° 10′ north; and theſe veſſels proceeded along the coaſt to Cape Bojadore, in 26° north latitude, but they had not the courage to double it. In 1418 Triſtan-Vaz diſcovered the iſland of Porto Santo, and gave it that name, becauſe he firſt ſaw it on the feaſt of All Saints. The next year the Portugueze diſcovered the iſland of Madeira, to which they gave that name, on account of its being covered with wood. In 1439, a Portugueze captain doubled Cape Bojadore, which ſome think is the ſame that in the writings of Ptolemy is called Cape Canarea. The next year they ſailed as high as Cape Blanco, in the latitude of 20°, and ſoon after diſcovered the Rio del Oro, with ſeveral ſmall iſlands upon the coaſt. In 1446, Nuno Triſtan doubled Cape Verd, in the latitude of 14° 40′. In 1448, in the ſpring, Don Gonzalo Vallo ſailed to the iſlands called Açorres, or the Hawk-Iſlands, from the word açor, which in the Spaniſh language ſignifies a hawk. They were at that time uninhabited, and were ſettled by this commander, who did not, however, viſit at this time the iſlands of Flores and Corvo, which were ſettled by ſome Flemings, and from thence were called the Flemiſh iſlands.

In the year 1449, the iſlands of Cape Verd were diſcovered on the behalf of the Infant Don Henry. The progreſs made by the Infant Don Henry gave great ſatisfaction to the princes that poſſeſſed the crown of Portugal, inſomuch that King Alphonſo IV. or rather the Infant Don Pedro, who governed the kingdom during his minority, made him a grant of the iſlands of Porto-Santo and Madeira. The Infant, however, judged it requiſite, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, to obtain the ſanction of the holy ſee, and for that reaſon ſent Don Ferdinand Lopez d'Azevedo as his embaſſador to Pope Martin V. who, as the gift coſt him very little, made a free grant to the crown of Portugal of all that ſhould be diſcovered on

that

that ſide as far as the Indies. This bull is dated in 1444, and was confirmed by his ſucceſſors, Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. and Sixtus IV. which occaſioned afterward high diſputes.

This tranſaction ſhews, that Don Henry was a very great politician, for by pretending that all countries were to be diſpoſed of at the will and pleaſure of the pope of Rome, he ſecured his holineſs's conſent to whatever he demanded: and he very well knew, that whatever was beſtowed upon him by thoſe grants, would be infallibly ſupported by the thunder of the church. This great prince died in the year 1463; the continent of Africa under his auſpice having been diſcovered from Cape Non to Cape Sierra Leona, which is in the latitude 8° north, by which the foundation was laid of all that was afterward performed.

In 1471, Pedro d' Eſcovar diſcovered the iſland of St. Thomas, and Prince-Iſlands, and on the firſt day of the next year another iſland on the ſame coaſt, which for that reaſon he called Anno Bueno, which is the ſame that is now called corruptly Annobon. In 1484, Diego Cam, a Portugueze, diſcovered the kingdom of Congo, and having heard there of a Chriſtian monarch, who reigned in Ethiopia; he magnified his power ſo much on his return, that John II. who was at that time on the throne, took a reſolution to ſend by land two perſons he could truſt, to gain ſome certain intelligence of this Chriſtian prince, whom he judged to be Preſter John: and at the ſame time to gain the moſt ſatisfactory knowledge they could of the ſtate of the Indies. The perſons who went with this commiſſion, were Pedro de Covillan and Alphonſo de Payva, who had ſtrict orders to commit to writing whatever they judged worthy of notice; but more eſpecially the ſituation of places, and the navigation on the coaſt of Ethiopia, by which it was judged ſome diſcovery might be made of the means of paſſing by a new rout to the Indies. Our travellers,

travellers, who ſpoke the Arabic tongue perfectly, went together to Alexandria, and from thence to Cairo, from which city they proceeded to the famous port of Aden in Arabia, where they had an opportunity of converſing with traders of all nations, and from all parts of the Indies. From thence they learned many things which were of great conſequence to them, inaſmuch that they ſeemed to put it in their power to give the king a good account of the commiſſion with which they were entruſted. Here they reſolved to part, in order, that while one made a tour through the Indies, the other might go to the court of the emperor of Ethiopia. Accordingly, Pedro de Covillan went to the Indies, and having made a very exact map of the coaſts, he croſſed the Arabian ſea to Africa; and after having viſited moſt of the principal ports there, came to Sofala, fully perſuaded, as well from the reaſon of the thing, as from the concurring opinions of the ſeamen he converſed with, that a ſhort and eaſy paſſage might be found round the continent of Africa to the Indies. Full of joy from this diſcovery, he made the beſt of his way to Cairo, where he was to meet his companion; but when he came thither, he was informed that the unfortunate Alphonſo de Payva had been murdered on the road to Ethiopia. He was ſomewhat at a loſs as to the meaſures which he was next to take; but, after mature conſideration, he reſolved to acquaint the king with the diſcoveries he had made, by letter; and to continue his journey into Ethiopia: that, at his return to Portugal, he might be able to ſatisfy the king, in every reſpect, ſo that his majeſty might not be under a neceſſity of ſending any other perſon to make farther enquiries. He executed his ſecond journey with the ſame good fortune that he did the former, at leaſt at the beginning, and was extremely well received by Alexander, who was at that time emperor of Abyſſinia; and who was extremely well pleaſed with the offers made him of the aſſiſtance of a powerful prince; and promiſed to ſend Pedro de

Covillan

Covillan back again with letters to the king his maſter. But he dying ſuddenly, his ſucceſſor Nahu treated our Portugueze, not only with coldneſs and diſreſpect, but with the greateſt cruelty, refuſing him leave to return home, and keeping him at his court as a priſoner for many years; ſo that in Portugal they concluded him dead, though he lived afterward to recover his liberty.

The ſame worthy king of Portugal John II. while he endeavoured by theſe his embaſſadors, to gain a perfect knowledge of the ſtate of the Indies by land, neglected not the proſecution of what had been ſo long laboured with the ſame view at ſea. It was to facilitate this deſign, that he employed Bartholomew Diaz, one of his courtiers, and a perſon remarkable for great prudence, much ſkill in the art of navigation, as well as for invincible courage, to proceed ſtill farther along the ſouth coaſt of Africa; which accordingly he did in the year 1486, and executed his commiſſion with equal conduct and ſucceſs. He carried with him ſeveral negroes, who had been many years in his ſervice, and who, from time to time, he ſet on ſhore, well dreſſed, with a ſmall quantity of goods, on purpoſe that they might inform the people of the country how well they had been uſed, and how kindly treated by the Portugueze. He likewiſe ſet up croſſes of ſtone, with the arms of Portugal engraven upon them, to aſſert his maſter's title to the countries by him diſcovered.

At laſt, arriving in ſight of a high cape, near which he met with very bad weather, he loſt the company of his victualling bark; upon which his crew mutinied, complaining that it was too much to endure at one time the hardſhips of the ſea and of famine. But Captain Diaz repreſented to them, that the former was not to be eſcaped by going back, and that the only means they had of preventing the latter, was to proceed till they came to ſome place where they could get refreſhments: he prevailed upon them to double the cape,

cape, and to ſail a good way beyond it, to a place where he erected another pillar of ſtone; and having obtained a ſmall ſupply, he returned, and, in his paſſage homeward, met with his bark again, in which, of nine men that he had left, three only ſurvived, and of theſe Ferdinand Colazza died with joy at the firſt ſight of the captain. He continued his voyage ſafely to Liſbon, where he arrived in December 1487, ſixteen months and ſeven days after his ſetting out, having diſcovered above a thouſand miles along the coaſt.

He gave the king his maſter a very full account of all that had happened to him, and inſiſted particularly on the difficulty with which he had doubled that ſtupendous promontory, which, from the ſtormy ſea about it, he thought fit to call *Cabo Tormontoſo*, that is, *The Tempeſtuous Cape*: but the king, who from the lights he had received from Covillan's letters, knew how to form a right judgment of the importance of this diſcovery, ſtiled it *Cabo del Bueno Eſperanza*, or, *The Cape of Good Hope*, which name it has ever ſince retained: for he ſaw clearly from the agreement between theſe accounts, that the paſſage was now open, and that there wanted but one voyage more to finiſh what they had ſo much deſired, viz. the finding a direct paſſage by ſea to the Eaſt Indies.

But while King John meditated this great deſign in his mind, and buſied himſelf in contriving the means of executing it in ſuch a manner as might be moſt honourable to himſelf and advantageous for his ſubjects; the great Ruler of all things diſpoſed of him otherwiſe, by calling him out of this life. In his laſt ſickneſs he appointed his couſin Don Emanuel, who alſo married his ſiſter, his heir. This prince, who ſucceeded to the throne of Portugal, 1495, was in the flower of his age, being then about twenty-ſeven, and poſſeſſed in an eminent degree, thoſe qualities that are moſt worthy of a monarch. He had great parts, much penetration, and an excellent judgment; yet

he was ſo diffident of his own abilities, that, foreſeeing the execution of his predeceſſor's projects would be attended with a larger expence than the diſcoveries hitherto made had induced, he declined entering upon them, without taking the advice of his council, before whom he laid all the informations that either himſelf or his couſin King John had received. The Portugueze ſtateſmen were extremely divided in their opinions, for ſome preſſed the king warmly to tread in the footſteps of his anceſtors, and, to compleat with glory, what with ſo much reputation they had begun; while others as vehemently oppoſed his purſuit of this deſign, each party ſupporting their opinion by very plauſible arguments.

Such as were deſirous that this new navigation might be attempted, obſerved that the trade to the Indies had been the great ſource of power and riches to every empire that had been poſſeſſed of it; that Providence ſeemed to have thrown it into the hands of their nation, in ſuch a manner that it would not only be diſadvantageous but diſhonourable to refuſe it; that all difficulties now were in a manner overcome, ſo that there remained ſcarce any thing but the going to take poſſeſſion of thoſe fine countries, and that vaſt wealth which all the world thirſted after, though none but themſelves knew how to reach; that the engroſſing ſo rich a trade to Portugal would balance their ſmall extent of territory, and enable his ſubjects to make as great or greater figure than the inhabitants of kingdoms much more potent in appearance: that, in fine, there was no leſs danger to be apprehended from abandoning this deſign, than benefit to be expected by purſuing it; ſince, in all probability, their ambitious neighbours, the Spaniards, would purſue and accompliſh this great work, which would enable them to execute, with eaſe, whatever they might be prompted to by their boundleſs ambition.

On the other ſide it was alleged, that there were many things more apparently neceſſary to the kingdom

dom than ſuch long, ſuch expenſive, and ſuch uncertain expeditions; ſince there were ſeveral large tracts of land, and particularly that ſpacious plain between the Ebro and the Tagus, that were not properly cultivated, the improvement of which would free them from the neceſſity of depending for their daily bread upon ſtrangers: that their country was but thinly peopled, at leaſt, in proportion to the numbers it might be able to maintain, if, inſtead of maritime expeditions, they turned their thoughts toward making the moſt of what was in their power; ſo that it was very unreaſonable to ſquander away men that might be immediately uſeful to their country, for the ſake of diſtant, and perhaps fallacious expectations: that all their diſcoveries and conqueſts hitherto, had furniſhed him only with a few negroes, elephants teeth, ſtrange birds, and other curioſities; in procuring which they had ſuffered many ſhipwrecks, and run the hazard of many more: that, for a century together, they had been amuſed with theſe golden dreams, and therefore it was high time to awake from this deluſion: that the kings his predeceſſors had been at vaſt expences, to very little purpoſe, in purſuit of the like deſigns, and that this ought to render him not only the more cautious in following their example, but oblige him alſo to conſider the conſequence of running an exhauſted nation into expences ſhe was unable to bear; and that beſide the ſucceſs of the undertaking, might bring ſuch demands upon the crown of Portugal, as would greatly exceed her forces; ſo that perhaps her intereſts at home might come to be ſacrificed to thoſe abroad.

The deliberations into which the king entered upon this important affair, though they did not abſolutely carry him from his purpoſe, or engage him to abandon a deſign which was, in ſome meaſure, recommended to him, with his laſt breath, by that great prince to whom he owed his throne; yet they, for a long time, retarded his preparations, and hindered

him from undertaking that project in the manner he had firſt intended. At laſt, however, fearing that his neighbours might reap the advantage of a longer neglect, eſpecially as he underſtood that the Spaniards very vigorouſly puſhed forward their diſcoveries; he came to a final reſolution to wait no longer, but to make a trial of what might be done in this way, by ſending a few ſhips only with a ſmall number of men: in which he endeavoured to avoid extreams, and to ſteer as it were in the middle, between the opinions of ſuch as were of his council. It was in conſequence of this determination, that in the ſpring of the year 1497, he ordered four ſhips to be equipped for his expedition; of theſe, three were armed veſſels, with ſome pieces of cannon on board, and the fourth a ſmall ſtore-ſhip. We may be ſure that their force was not very great, ſince, in the whole, it conſiſted in no more than an hundred and ſixty ſoldiers and ſeamen.

The reader will eaſily perceive, from this inſtance, that it is not a great force, or a vaſt expence, that is neceſſary to the execution of an important deſign, but the choice of a good officer, one who knows what he is to do, and goes with a reſolution to do what he is ſent to do. All the maritime expeditions, from the beginning of the world to this period of time, are not comparable to what was performed in the narrow compaſs of ſeven years time by Chriſtopher Columbus and Vaſquez de Gama: for the former ſailed on the 11th of October, 1492, and the other on the 9th of July, 1497, ſo that the diſcovery of the Eaſt Indies and the Weſt, were compleated in ſeven years, with a force that would be ſcarce thought ſufficient for equipping, at this day, three privateers.

The perſon choſen to command was Don Vaſquez de Gama, a man of quality, who poſſeſſed all the talents neceſſary for ſuch an employment. On the 9th of July, 1497, he embarked on board the Gabriel, which was the admiral of this little fleet, of the bur-

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then of one hundred and twenty tons, and the ſame day put to ſea: and after being expoſed to continual ſtorms, in which they frequently gave themſelves over for loſt, they entered a large bay, which the men called Angra de Santo Elena, or the bay of St. Helena, from their firſt ſeeing it on that ſaint's day.

The inhabitants of this iſland were blacks, ſmall of ſtature and ill-favoured. When they ſpoke, it ſeemed as if they ſighed. They were cloathed with the ſkins of beaſts, and concealed what modeſty taught them to hide, in wooden caſes, that were very well made. Their arms were oaken ſtaves, hardened with fire, and pointed at the end with the horns of beaſts.

They ſailed from St. Helena with a ſouth-weſt wind, on the 16th of November, and on the 18th in the evening came in ſight of the Cape of Good Hope, which they doubled on the 20th, ſounding their trumpets, and engaging in ſeveral diverſions, as expreſſions of their joy. As they coaſted along the ſhore, they had the proſpect of a very fine country, interſperſed with woods and lawns, abounding with numerous herds of large and ſmall cattle, and peopled with blacks, who reſembled thoſe of St. Helena. De Gama, having at length run 70 leagues beyond the Cape, arrived at another bay, to which he gave the name of Angra de San Blas, near which is a ſmall iſland, where the ſhips lay to take in a ſupply of water. The land about this bay is very fertile, and abounds with elephants and fine oxen, uſed by the natives inſtead of horſes. There were alſo a multitude of penguins, and a prodigious number of ſeals.

A few days after their arrival, there appeared about 90 of the inhabitants, ſome on the ſands, and others on the mountains; upon which the admiral landed with all his men well armed, and drawing near the ſhore, threw upon the land little bells, which the negroes took up, and ſome came ſo nigh as to receive

them out of his own hand; when venturing on ſhore with his men, he exchanged ſome red nightcaps for ivory bracelets. A few days after, above 200 blacks came down with 12 oxen and four ſheep, and on the Portugueze going on ſhore, they began to play upon four flutes, accompanied with ſeveral voices, which made no diſagreeable muſic. The admiral ſtriking in with this humour, ordered the trumpets to ſound, while his men danced along with the natives, and thus the day paſſed in mirth and feaſting. Not long after, many more blacks, men and women, came again with cattle, of whom the Portugueze bought an ox; but perceiving ſome young negroes behind the buſhes, with weapons in their hands, the admiral ſuſpected ſome treachery, and therefore ordered his people to retire to a place of greater ſecurity. The blacks then went along the ſhore, keeping pace with the boats till they came to the place where the Portugueze had landed, and then joined themſelves in a body, as if they intended to fight; but the admiral being unwilling to hurt them, withdrew in his boats, only ordering two pieces of ordnance to be ſhot off to frighten them: at this they were ſo terrified, that they ran away in confuſion, leaving their weapons behind; but afterward ſending ſome of his men on ſhore to erect a pillar, on which were the king of Portugal's arms and a croſs, the negroes pulled it down before their faces.

De Gama left this place on the eighth of November, and ſoon after met with a dreadful ſtorm. On Chriſtmas-day they ſaw land, which for that reaſon they called Tierra de Natal. After this they came to a river, which they called De los Reyes, or, Of the Kings, from its being firſt ſeen on the day of Epiphany. Here De Gama left two men to inform themſelves of whatever was worthy of notice in the country, and to give him an account of what they had learned at his return. For this purpoſe he had ſome malefactors with him, whoſe puniſhments were changed for theſe dangers.

dangers. Here he dealt for ſome ivory and proviſions, ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the blacks, that their king came on board.

On the 11th of January again drawing near land, the men went in their boats along the coaſt to take a view of it, when they ſaw a great number of men and women, who appeared to be quiet and civil people. The admiral then ſent one of his men who was well verſed in the languages of Africa, attended by another perſon, to pay his reſpects to the king, who received them with great civility, and diſmiſſed them with preſents. In return the admiral ſent his majeſty a red jacket, a pair of ſtockings, and a cap of the ſame colour, with a copper bracelet, which he received with pleaſure; and in return promiſed to give the perſon who brought this preſent any thing his country afforded, and invited the gentleman and his companion to his town. De Gama having given him leave, this gentleman, whoſe name was Alonzo, went forward with the king, whoſe ſubjects beholding him on the road in his new habit, clapped their hands with ſigns of joy and admiration. On their entering the town, the king went round it, to give the inhabitants an opportunity of beholding his finery; and then taking Alonzo to his houſe, ſupped with him upon a hen and boiled millet. Here many of the negroes came to ſee Alonzo and his attendant; and the next day they were ſent back with ſome blacks loaden with hens for the admiral, who returned them thanks, and called the place, The Land of Good People.

Departing from thence on the 15th of January, they proceeded along a low coaſt, full of very large and lofty trees, as far as Cape Corientes, or the Cape of Currents, proceeding 50 leagues beyond Sofala, without ſeeing that city. On the 24th they entered the mouth of a very large river, up which De Gama, with ſeveral of the men, proceeded in their boats *;

* This country is now called Cuama.

the land was low like the former, and abounded in tall trees, loaden with a variety of fruits; and proceeding farther they found ſeveral boats with ſails made of palm. The Portugueze were encouraged at ſeeing people who underſtood ſomething of ſailing, a circumſtance which they had not met with before on all theſe coaſts. The natives came in their boats to the ſhips without fear or heſitation, and behaved to the Portugueze with as much familiarity, as if they had been old acquaintance. The admiral treated them kindly, gave them ſmall bells and other toys, and talked with them by ſigns; for none on board underſtood their language. They afterward returned in their boats with others, bringing proviſions, and more of the natives came along the water-ſide, among whom were ſome pretty women.

On the third day two perſons of rank came in their boats to viſit the admiral. Theſe had their aprons larger than the reſt, and one of them wore on his head an handkerchief wrought with ſilk, and the other a green ſattin cap. De Gama gave them a courteous reception, invited them to eat, and gave them apparel with other things; but they ſeemed by their looks to ſet no value on them. However, it appeared from certain ſigns made by a young man, that they were of a diſtant country, and had ſeen as large ſhips as thoſe they were then in; and when they were landed, they offered ſome pieces of callico to ſale. De Gama rejoiced at theſe happy tokens, and all on board were elevated with hopes of ſoon reaching the treaſures of India; wherefore the admiral called this, the River of Good Signs, and erected a pillar, on which was carved a crucifix, and under it the arms of Portugal. Here they alſo refitted their ſhips, and endeavoured to cure the men who were ſick of the ſcurvy.

They ſailed from hence on the 24th of January, and on the firſt of March deſcried four iſlands; from one of which came ſeven or eight ſmall boats that followed

lowed the ſhips, the men calling out and making ſigns to induce them to ſtay for them. As ſoon as they were at anchor, the boats came up with ſeveral people of a good ſtature, and dark complexion, cloathed with ſtriped callico of ſeveral colours. On their coming on board they diſcourſed in Arabic, and the admiral having ordered an entertainment to be provided for them they ate and drank heartily, during which he deſired to know the name of the iſland, together with the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, and the exact diſtance from thence to India: to which they replied, that the iſland was called Moſambique, and was ſubject to the king of Quiloa; that there was a town in it full of merchants who traded to India for ſpices, precious ſtones, and other commodities.

The town of Moſambique ſtands in 15° ſouth latitude; and the country, which is rendered unhealthy by its numerous marſhes, was inhabited by blacks, who lived in huts made of clay, and thatched with ſtraw; but a great number of ſhips reſorted thither for the convenience of trade, though at this time the power and wealth of the iſland was chiefly engroſſed by the Arabian merchants, who uſed veſſels faſtened together with wooden pegs, inſtead of nails, and the ſails were of mats made of palm-tree leaves. Theſe Arabians made uſe of the compaſs; had ſea charts that were tolerably accurate, and were furniſhed with ſeveral aſtronomical inſtruments.

The ſheik, and the reſt of the people, taking the Portugueze for Turks or Moors, viſited the firſt ſhip that entered the harbour, but ſoon returned, becauſe there were none on board who underſtood their language; but the reſt of the ſhips having entered the harbour, the ſheik ſent them preſents and proviſions, deſiring leave to come on board; and in return De Gama ſent him red hats, ſhort gowns, coral, braſs baſons, hawks bells, and other things, which he made ſlight of, aſking what they were good for, and

why

why the admiral did not ſend him ſcarlet? De Gama, to prepare againſt his coming, ordered all the ſick men to be kept out of ſight, and thoſe that were perfectly well in the reſt of the ſhips to be ſent to his, where they were put under arms. The ſheik appeared richly dreſſed: he was attended by armed men, with drums and ivory trumpets. The admiral received him at the entrance of the ſhip, and conducted him with ſome of his people into the cabbin, while the reſt remained in the boats. De Gama apologized for his not ſending him ſcarlet, by aſſuring him he had brought none with him. The ſheik and his company ate and drank very heartily; aſked whether they were Turks, which he ſuppoſed they were, from the whiteneſs of their complexion, and deſired a ſight of their bows, and of the books of their law. The admiral anſwered, that he came from the Weſt, and belonged to a great kingdom bordering upon Turkey; but had no books of their law with them. He ſhewed him ſome croſs-bows, which were ſhot off before him, and ſome armour that greatly raiſed his admiration. He deſired the ſheik to ſupply him with two pilots, which he readily granted, and returned with them the next day; when the pilots conſented to undertake the voyage, upon his giving each of them 30 crowns and a coat.

This harmony was, however, but of ſhort continuance; for the ſheik or governor, no ſooner diſcovered the Portugueſe to be Chriſtians, than his friendſhip was converted into averſion, and he began to lay ſchemes for deſtroying De Gama and ſeizing the ſhips. However, the ſhips being in want of water, the admiral ſending the boats, took it away by force, while the Moors kept at a diſtance for fear of the ordnance.

On the 24th of March one of the natives braving the fleet from the ſhore, the admiral, to revenge this inſult, and the other injuries he had ſuffered, manned out the boats, in which he cauſed ſome ordnance to be

be placed, and after driving a body of men from the ſhore, who came to oppoſe his landing, and taking a few of them priſoners, among whom one of them happened to be a pilot; he deſtroyed the town with his great guns, and obliged the inhabitants to fly into the country.

De Gama finding that his ſtaying longer here would be attended with great danger, now ſteered to another iſland at four miles diſtance, and from thence ſailed to Quiloa; but being forced by contrary winds and tempeſtuous weather to return, an Arabian, with his ſon, deſired to be carried to Melinda, in his way to Mecca, from whence he came as a pilot, to which the admiral readily conſented, his brother having ſeized another pilot at Moſambique. The weather no ſooner became favourable, than they again put out to ſea, and proceeded to Mombaſſa, a city which the pilots obſerved was chiefly inhabited by Chriſtians.

They arrived at that city on the 27th of April; but as the ſhips lay without the bar, a bark approached them in the night, with about 100 men in Turkiſh habits, armed with ſcimeters and bucklers, and would have boarded them, had they not been prevented by the admiral's giving orders that no more than four ſhould be admitted. Theſe four ſeemed by their dreſs to be above the common rank, and theſe he obliged to lay aſide their arms before they came, excuſing his precaution by obſerving, that he was a ſtranger to the coaſt. He, however, entertained them in a very handſome manner, on which they told him, that the king being informed of his arrival, had ſent them with compliments of congratulation, and promiſed to load his ſhips with ſpices; obſerving that there were many Chriſtians on the iſland, which agreeing with the report of the pilots, he readily believed what they told him. The next day the king ſent to compliment the admiral, and made him a preſent of fruit. Theſe deputies told him there were many Chriſtians in the place, and that they themſeves were

were of that number. They adviſed him to approach the city, and come to an anchor in the harbour, where the king could more conveniently give the Portugueſe freſh proofs of his inclination to ſerve them. The admiral believing them to be ſincere, expreſſed his acknowledgments, and treating them very kindly, promiſed to comply with his majeſty's requeſt. He ſet on ſhore two of his exiles with preſents to the king, who treated them with the utmoſt hoſpitality, and ordered ſome of the natives to ſhew them the city. In their way they ſaw many priſoners in irons, and were carried to the houſe of two merchants of India, who were Chriſtians, after which the king ſent them back with ſamples of corn and ſpices, bidding them tell the admiral, that he might have what quantity he pleaſed for gold, ſilver, amber, and other commodities, at a leſs price than any where elſe.

It was immediately reſolved to accept of this offer of ſpices, and the next morning at flood they prepared to enter the harbour; but the admiral's ſhip ſtriking on a ſhoal, he again caſt anchor, upon which, the natives who were on board went into their boat, and at the ſame inſtant the two pilots jumped into the ſea, and were taken up by the natives, who could not be prevailed upon to return and deliver them. This naturally gave the admiral a diſtruſt of the king, whoſe affected civility was only diſſimulation; for having heard of what had paſſed at Moſambique, he had reſolved to deſtroy the Portugueſe, while the ſhips were in the harbour, and two of the perſons whom the admiral had ſeized and brought from Moſambique, being put to the torture, confeſſed that they had plotted the deſtruction of the ſhips, and that the pilots had eſcaped from the fear of its being diſcovered.

The execution of the project for deſtroying the Portugueſe, being thus prevented, the king immediately concerted another ſcheme for deſtroying them;

but in the night the watch perceiving that the cables ſhook, at firſt imagined it was cauſed by ſome tunny fiſh, of which there are great numbers in thoſe ſeas, till ſeveral men were found ſwimming about, and cutting it with their ſwords, in order that the ſhip might run a-ground. Others had alſo got among the tackle of the foremaſt of another ſhip; but on their being diſcovered, they plunged into the ſea, and ſwam to ſome boats, that lay at a diſtance to receive them. The admiral being therefore convinced of the treachery of theſe people, reſolved to ſail immediately to Melinda.

Mombaſſa is an iſland ſituated near the continent, from which it is divided by a river that falls into the ſea by two mouths. The city, which was governed by a king, was very large, and ſeated upon an high rock. At the entrance of the port was a ſmall low fort, near the water. The houſes were built with ſtone; the cielings wrought in figures, with a compoſition like plaiſter of Paris, and the ſtreets made a good appearance. A great trade was carried on for various ſorts of merchandize, and the harbour was continually full of ſhips. Here they found plenty of proviſions, as millet, rice, cattle, and fowls, which were all very fat, and their ſheep, which were very fine, had no tails; from the main-land were alſo brought ivory-ware, and honey. The iſland was very pleaſant, and afforded excellent water. It was full of orchards, and planted with oranges, lemons, citrons, Indian figs, and pomegranates.

The admiral having got clear of the bay, left Mombaſſa on the 13th, and ſoon after chaſed two ſambucos, or ſmall pinnaces, one of which he took, with 17 men on board, and a conſiderable quantity of gold and ſilver; and the ſame day reached Melinda, which is 18 leagues from Mombaſſa, and ſituated in 3° ſouth latitude. The city is ſeated on the plaineſt part of a rocky coaſt, and encompaſſed with palms, and woods of fruit-trees. The city was large, with handſome

handſome ſtreets and houſes, built with ſtone, ſeveral ſtories high, with terraces on the top. The natives of the country were very ſwarthy; they had curled hair, and were ſtrong, and well proportioned. They wore turbans wrought with ſilk and gold, and from the waiſt downward were cloathed with ſilk and cotton ſtuffs, while others wore ſhort cloaks of callico; their ſwords and daggers were handſomely ornamented; they were left-handed, and being good archers, never went without their bows and arrows.

De Gama rejoiced at ſeeing a city that had ſome reſemblance to thoſe of Portugal, and anchored within a league of it. But nobody came on board for fear of being made priſoners; for the pinnace the admiral had juſt before taken, probably raiſed the belief of their being pirates. De Gama therefore ordered an Arabian priſoner who was one of thoſe he had taken in the pinnace, and had promiſed to get him pilots in this place, to be ſet on a ſhelf over againſt the city, from whence a boat came immediately to fetch him. This man being conducted to the king, he informed him, that the admiral deſired to enter into an alliance with him. The king returned an anſwer to the admiral's ſatisfaction, with a preſent of three ſheep, and a conſiderable quantity of oranges and ſugar-canes, which was returned with a preſent of a hat, three braſs baſons, ſome ſmall bells, and two ſcarves.

The next day De Gama proceeded with his ſhips nearer the city, and anchored by four veſſels belonging to the Chriſtians of India, where the king ſent ſome perſons to viſit him, and to let him know, that he himſelf would viſit him the next day.

In the mean time the Chriſtians from the India ſhips, with the king's leave, viſited De Gama. They were well proportioned, and of a brown complexion. On ſeeing a picture repreſenting the virgin Mary and ſome of the apoſtles, they fell down and worſhipped it, for which purpoſe they afterward repaired thither every

every day, ridiculouſly offering to the picture pepper and other things.

The next day, in the afternoon, the king of Melinda came in a large boat, dreſſed in a gown of crimſon damaſk, lined with green ſattin, with a rich ſcarf rolled round his head. He ſat in a very handſome chair, neatly inlaid with wire, on a ſilk cuſhion, with another by him, on which was placed a hat of crimſon ſattin. Near him ſtood an old man, who held a very rich ſword with a ſilver ſcabbard. He was alſo attended with about 20 of his ſubjects richly dreſſed, with muſicians who played on ſackbuts, and two ivory flutes, eight ſpans in length, neatly made, with a little hole in the middle, on which they played. De Gama went to meet the king in his boat, adorned with flags, and attended by twelve of the principal perſons in his three ſhips. After many ſalutations, he at the king's deſire went into his boat. His majeſty viewed him and his men very attentively, aſked him ſeveral queſtions in relation to the country he came from, the name of his king, and the motives which had brought him into thoſe ſeas. Theſe queſtions the admiral anſwered, after which the king promiſed him a pilot for Calicut, and invited him to take the pleaſure his palace afforded. De Gama, however, excuſed himſelf; but promiſed to call there at his return, and at the ſame time made his majeſty a preſent of all the priſoners he had lately taken, at which he was highly pleaſed.

The king was afterward rowed up to the ſhips, which he beheld with ſurpriſe, and was highly delighted with the firing of the ordnance, telling the admiral, that he never ſaw any men who pleaſed him ſo well as the Portugueſe, and he wiſhed he had ſome of them to aſſiſt him in his wars.

De Gama ſet ſail from Melinda on the 22d of April, and reſolved now to quit the ſhores, which he had hitherto coaſted, and truſt himſelf in the main ocean. In this run he had remarkably good weather, and

croſſed that great ſea of 700 leagues, which lies between Africa and the hither peninſula of India, in 23 days. On the 17th of May they ſaw land, and on the 20th the pilot perceived the mountains of Calicut, and immediately informing the admiral, the latter was ſo tranſported with joy, that he made an entertainment for the whole crew, and ſoon after came to an anchor in an open road two leagues below Calicut.

On the 20th of May the admiral came to an anchor on the coaſt of Malabar, about two leagues from Calicut, and ſoon after ſeveral fiſhermen in their boats rowed up to the fleet, greatly admiring the ſhips. They were of a brown complexion, and naked, except a ſmall piece of linen which hung before. De Gama gave theſe people a courteous reception, and bought ſome of their fiſh, after which they conducted him nearer to Calicut, where he caſt anchor without the bar, and immediately ſent one of his baniſhed men on ſhore in one of the fiſhermen's boats, to get intelligence of the place. The people immediately thronged about this ſtranger; aſked the fiſhermen many queſtions, and were greatly ſurpriſed at his dreſs, which was ſo unlike that of the Arabs who came from the ſtraits of Mecca. They however carried him to the houſe of two Moors, one of whom, called Bontaibo, could ſpeak Spaniſh, and knowing him to be a Portugueſe, aſked, what brought him thither? which being anſwered, he ſaid, that he was acquainted with the Portugueſe at Tunis, whence he came; but could not conceive how any Portugueſe ſhips could come thither. He then gave the man ſome refreſhments, and went with him to ſee the admiral.

The admiral and thoſe who were with him, were ſo ſurpriſed at meeting with one who could ſpeak their language, ſo far from home, that tears of joy ſtarted into their eyes. De Gama embraced Bontaibo, and making him ſit down, ſeated himſelf by him, and aſked

aſked if he was a Chriſtian; and how he came to Calicut? Bontaibo anſwered, that he was indeed a Chriſtian, and had been chief contractor for the warlike ſtores which King Ferdinand had purchaſed at Tunis; and that he had arrived at India by the way of Cairo. He concluded with obſerving, that as he had on all occaſions been a friend to the Portugueſe, he would now continue to promote their deſigns to the utmoſt of his power. De Gama thanked him heartily, and promiſed to reward him nobly for whatever ſervice he ſhould do him. He then aſked Bontaibo ſeveral queſtions relating to the ſovereign of Calicut; to which he replied, that he was a prince of a very good diſpoſition, and he did not doubt but he would gladly receive the admiral as embaſſador from a foreign king; eſpecially, if he came to ſettle a trade; ſince the king's revenue chiefly aroſe from the duties on goods.

The Zamorin, or emperor, being informed that the admiral had letters to him from the king of Portugal, a Chriſtian prince, he ſent to bid him welcome; and at the ſame time ordered him a pilot to conduct him to Padarane, where there was a good harbour for the ſhips: with orders for the admiral to go from thence by land to Calicut, where he would be ready to receive him. De Gama accordingly ſteered with the ſhips to Padarane, but would not enter too far into the port for fear of treachery. Here an order was ſent him from the Cutwal, or officer for foreign affairs, with permiſſion to land whenever he pleaſed. Upon which De Gama calling a council, let them know that he intended to go and ſettle a treaty of commerce, and perpetual amity with the Zamorin: to this his brother alleged, that though the Zamorin and the natives, as they then imagined, were Chriſtians, yet there were many Arabs among them, who were their mortal enemies, and would be ſtill more ſo from the conſideration of their coming to interfere in their trade: and therefore, as the ſuc-

ceſs of the voyage depended on his life, he thought it more adviſeable to ſend ſome other perſon in his ſtead, and in this opinion he was ſeconded by all the reſt. But De Gama declared, that whatever happened he was reſolved to go himſelf, alleging that it was his majeſty's intereſt to encourage traders, and that he had nothing to fear, as the inhabitants were Chriſtians; but that in caſe any accident happened to him, they ſhould give themſelves no concern about his ſafety, but ſail directly homeward, to carry to the king of Portugal the news of their having diſcovered the Indies.

The next day De Gama ſet out in his boat, which was furniſhed with ordnance, attended by 12 of his officers, with flags waving, and trumpets ſounding. The Cutwal waited for him on ſhore, attended by 200 naires, or gentlemen of the country, and a multitude of people. He was received very politely at his landing, where there were two litters, one for him and the other for the Cutwal; into which having entered, they were carried very ſwiftly on mens ſhoulders, all the reſt going on foot. At a place called Capocats, they reſted, and having dined on rice and fruit, they entered ſome boats, and ſailed down the river. De Gama and his attendants were afterward conducted to a large Indian temple built of free-ſtone, and covered with tiles. On the walls of this temple were many painted images, ſome with great teeth ſticking above an inch out of their mouths, and others with four arms, and ſuch frightful faces, that the Portugueſe began to doubt, whether it was a Chriſtian church or not. In the middle was a little round chapel, over which was a tower, built with freeſtone, with a ſmall wire door, and ſtone ſtairs, to which they aſcended on the outſide by ſteps. In the wall oppoſite to this entrance ſtood an image, which, from the darkneſs of the place, could not be diſtinctly viewed; and admittance was denied to all, except the prieſt, who approaching and pointing to the figure, called aloud, Maria!

Maria! Maria! When the cutwal and his attendants came before the chapel, they fell flat on the ground with their hands before them three times, and then prayed ſtanding; while De Gama and the reſt, who took it for an image of the virgin, fell on their knees and prayed: but one Juan de Sala who had ſome doubt, ſaid as he was kneeling, "If this be the Devil, I worſhip God," which made De Gama and the reſt of the Portugueſe ſmile.

They now walked in proceſſion toward the palace, followed by a prodigious multitude of people; but at their entering the city, the preſs was ſo great, that they were almoſt ſtifled, and could ſcarce move forward: which obliged the cutwal to take them into a houſe, where his brother, who was a perſon of great diſtinction, met him with ſeveral naires, who were ſent by the Zamorin to conduct De Gama to court. They were now attended by at leaſt 3000 men in arms, and De Gama was highly pleaſed with the manner of his reception; for turning to thoſe who were with him, he ſaid, "They little think in Portugal what honour is done us here."

An hour before ſun-ſet they arrived at the Zamorin's palace, which was very large, and made an handſome appearance. At the palace gate they were received by ſeveral of the grandees, who conducted them through five large courts, with gates to each, attended by ten porters. On their approaching the audience chamber, they were met by the king's chief Bramin, a little old man, who embraced De Gama, and conducted them all in: but the people preſſed ſo violently to get in with them, in order to ſee the Zamorin, that ſeveral were ſqueezed to death; and this had like to have been the fate of two of the Portugueſe, had not the porters laid on unmercifully to make room for them.

The hall into which the Portugueſe were conducted, was ſet round with ſeats, riſing one above another in the manner of an amphitheatre; the floor was co-

vered with a rich carpet, and the walls hung with ſilk tapeſtry interwoven with gold. The Zamorin, who was of a brown complexion, luſty, and advanced in years, lay reclined upon a ſopha covered with white ſilk wrought with gold, with a rich canopy over his head. He wore a ſhort coat of fine callico, adorned with branches and roſes of beaten gold. It was buttoned with large pearls, and the button holes were of gold thread: about his waiſt was a piece of white callico, which reached to his knees. On his head was a mitre adorned with jewels; in his ears were jewels of the ſame kind, and both his toes and fingers ſparkled with diamond rings. His arms and legs were naked and adorned with gold bracelets; and in ſhort, his perſon was graceful, and his air noble and majeſtic.

On De Gama's approaching the Zamorin, he, according to the cuſtom of the country, bowed his body three times, with his hands above his head. His majeſty looked on him with complacency; but returned his ſalute in ſo ſlight a manner, that the motion of his head could ſcarcely be perceived. Then making ſigns to him to advance, he cauſed him to be ſeated near him; and the reſt entering and bowing in the ſame manner, he gave orders for their being ſeated oppoſite to him; and water to be brought for them to cool their hands, it being very hot, though in winter. He then ordered a collation of figs and jakas to be brought in; and on their calling for water to drink, a gold cup with a ſpout was brought them; when being informed that the Malabars reckoned it inſolent to touch the veſſel with their lips when drinking, they in compliance with the cuſtom, held it at ſome diſtance above their mouths: but not being uſed to that manner of receiving liquor, it either overcharged their throats, and made them cough, or falling on one ſide, wet their cloaths, which made diverſion for the whole court.

At length the Zamorin ordered De Gama, by his interpreter, to lay his buſineſs before his officers, who were

were preſent, that he might be informed of it from them; upon which the admiral let him know, that he could not with honour recede from the cuſtom obſerved by the Chriſtian princes of Europe, which was to hear embaſſadors themſelves, in the preſence of only a few of their counſellors. The Zamorin ſaid, that he approved that cuſtom, and ordering De Gama to be conducted into another apartment, which was like the firſt, followed with only his interpreter, his chief bramin, his betel ſerver, and the comptroller of the houſhold. Being ſeated on a ſopha, he aſked the admiral what country he came from, and the occaſion of his coming; to which he anſwered, that he was embaſſador from the king of Portugal, the greateſt monarch for power and riches in all the weſt; who having heard that there were Chriſtian kings in the Indies, of whom the king of Calicut was reported to be the chief, he had thought fit to ſend an embaſſador to ſettle a trade and friendſhip with him; and that the predeceſſors of the king his maſter, had for the ſpace of threeſcore years attempted to diſcover India by ſea; but that none of his captains had, till now, been able to accompliſh that deſign. In confirmation of the truth of what he advanced, he promiſed to produce the letters of his king at the next audience; and obſerved, that he had orders to tell his majeſty, that the king his maſter was his friend and brother, and hoped, that if his majeſty accepted of his friendſhip, he would ſend his embaſſador to Portugal to confirm it. The Zamorin replied, that nothing could be more agreeable to him than ſuch an alliance; and then aſked ſeveral queſtions, in relation to the king's power; the diſtance between Calicut and Portugal, and how long he had been on his voyage. Theſe queſtions the admiral anſwered. But it being now late, and he chuſing to lodge in a houſe by himſelf, and not with either the Indians or the Chriſtians, ordered his factor, who was an Indian, to go with him, and provide whatever he ſhould have occaſion for: he was alſo accompanied by the Cutwal and his atten-

dants; but there falling a heavy rain, they were forced to ſhelter themſelves at the factor's, who would have lent him a horſe; but as he had no ſaddle, he choſe rather to go on foot to his lodging, whither his men had already carried his baggage.

Thus every thing ſeemed to offer De Gama the faireſt proſpect for promoting the glory and advantage of his nation; but he was even now on the brink of ſeeng them raviſhed from him. Formidable rivals roſe up againſt him. Mahometaniſm had followed the Tartars to the Indies, and was as predominant there as Paganiſm. The declared hatred that the Muſſelmen then bore to the Chriſtians, animated them againſt the Chriſtians; and the Arabs carrying on a very conſiderable commerce in the countries of Mogul and Malabar, to which they came from the coaſts of Africa, Arabia, and Perſia; the fear of being ſupplanted, made them conſpire the deſtruction of the Portugueſe.

As they had the admiral in their poſſeſſion, ſeveral artifices were now made uſe of by the Cutwal, through the inſtigation of the Arabs, to obtain poſſeſſion likewiſe of the ſhips: in this, however, De Gama diſappointed them; and after much trouble, happily got again on board his own veſſels.

De Gama, though he would not land again himſelf, yet gave his men liberty, by turns, to ſee the city; where they were kindly received by the Indians, and ſold their goods with the utmoſt freedom. The natives, on the other hand, daily reſorted to the ſhips in boats, either to ſell proviſions, or out of meer curioſity; and were kindly entertained by the admiral's order.

Thus matters went on quietly till the 10th of Auguſt; when the ſeaſon for returning from the Indies being come, De Gama ſent Diaz his factor to the Zamorin with a preſent of ſcarves, ſilk, coral, and other things; ordering him to let his majeſty know that he intended to depart; and to deſire, in caſe he was diſpoſed to ſend an ambaſſador to Portugal, that

he

he might be diſpatched. He alſo informed the Zamorin, that he deſigned to leave his factor and ſecretary at Calicut, with the goods that were there, till the arrival of the next fleet from Europe; and as a confirmation of his having been in India, deſired his majeſty would ſend his maſter a bahar of cinnamon, another of cloves, and a third of other ſpices, which ſhould be paid for out of the firſt goods that were ſold, of what were on ſhore.

Diaz, after waiting four days, was admitted to the preſence of Zamorin; who, with a frowning countenance, aſked him what he wanted? Diaz, with great tremor, delivered his meſſage, and was going to offer the preſent; when the Zamorin refuſed to ſee it, and ordered it to be delivered to his factor; and then bid him tell the admiral, that if he would go, he might; but that he ſhould firſt, according to the cuſtom of the port, pay him 600 ſharafins. Diaz, however, had no ſooner returned to the factory, than he was confined there; and proclamation was made through the city to forbid any perſons going on board the fleet upon pain of death. However, Bontaibo had the courage to diſobey this command, in order to adviſe the admiral to be on his guard; and to let him know, that the Arabs had perſuaded the Zamorin that the Portugueſe were pirates; and came with no other deſign, but to carry off by force the merchandize brought to the city, and to pry into the ſtrength of the country. Two days after, four boys came on board, bringing precious ſtones to ſell; but though the admiral took them for ſpies, he ſeemed to be ignorant of what had paſſed, and ſuffered them to depart, in hopes of alluring on board others of more conſequence. This had the deſired effect; for the Zamorin, imagining from hence that De Gama was ignorant of the impriſonment of his factor and ſecretary, ſent people on board to amuſe him, till he could fit out a fleet, or the ſhips of Mecca ſhould arrive to take him. At length there coming ſix of the principal Malabars with fifteen attendants, he

ordered them to be ſeized; and ſent back two of the boatmen, with a letter in the Malabar tongue, to the Zamorin's factor, demanding his factor and ſecretary in exchange. But De Gama not ſeeing them arrive ſo ſoon as he expected, ſet ſail, and came to an anchor in an open road four leagues below Calicut; where having waited three days, he put to ſea almoſt out of ſight of land; when a boat with Malabars came on board, and told the admiral, that his people were in the Zamorin's palace, and would be with him the next day. De Gama let them know, that they ſhould inſtantly bring his men, or letters from them: that if they returned without either, he would ſink them; and if they did not return at all, he would cut off the heads of thoſe he had ſeized. As ſoon as the boat was departed, he ſteered toward the ſhore, and came to an anchor over againſt Calicut.

The next day ſeven boats made up to the admiral's ſhip; in one of which were Diaz and Braga, whom the Malabars put into the ſhip's boat, and then withdrew to ſome diſtance, waiting for the admiral's anſwer. They brought a letter to the king of Portugal, which was written by Diaz on a palm-tree leaf, and ſigned by the Zamorin. It was expreſſed in theſe laconic terms: "Vaſco de Gama, a "gentleman of thy houſe, came to my country; of "whoſe coming I was glad. In my country there "is plenty of cinnamon, cloves, pepper, and pre-"cious ſtones. The things which I am deſirous of "having out of thy country, are gold, ſilver, coral "and ſcarlet."

De Gama returned no other anſwer, but that he had ſent back the Naires, and would keep the reſt till all his merchandize on ſhore were reſtored. The next day, Bontaibo came on board, and told the admiral, that the Cutwal, by the king's order, had ſeized all his effects; ſaying he was a Chriſtian, and had been ſent over-land by the king of Portugal, as a ſpy. He added, that he knew that it was all done at the inſtigation of the Arabs; and not doubting, as

they had taken his goods, they would injure his perſon, he had fled away to avoid their malice. De Gama immediately ordered a cabin for him; and told him, that on his arrival at Portugal, he ſhould meet with ample amends for the loſs of his goods. There afterward came three Almadias, with ſcarves laid over the benches; and thoſe who came in theſe veſſels pretended that they had brought all the merchandize, and deſired that the Malabars might be delivered up in return: but the admiral perceiving that this was only an artifice, told them he would carry the Malabars to Portugal to confirm his diſcovery, and would ſoon return to Calicut, when the Zamorin ſhould know whether the Chriſtians were pirates, as the Arabs had pretended.

Calicut is ſeated in the middle of the coaſt of Malabar, upon an open ſhore, where there is no ſhelter for European ſhips, which are forced to ride at anchor in the road: but thoſe of the country, being made of planks, bound together with ropes, and flat-bottomed, are eaſily brought on land. Though the city was at that time large, the houſes were made of hurdles, except the palaces of the Zamorin and the temples, which were the only buildings of lime and ſtone; for none elſe, by their laws, were allowed to be erected with thoſe materials. This city was, at that time, the greateſt mart in India, for all ſorts of ſpices, drugs, precious ſtones, ſilks, calicoes, gold, ſilver, and other rich commodities. The people are Pagans; and pay an implicit obedience to their Bramins or prieſts, in ſecular, as well as in religious affairs.

Two days after De Gama departed, being becalmed a league from Calicut, the Zamorin ſent 60 tonies filled with ſoldiers to take the ſhips: however, a freſh gale ſuddenly ſpringing up, the fleet eſcaped; but was followed by the Malabars for about an hour and a half. It was very happy for the Portugueſe that they arrived at Calicut in the beginning of winter, when the king's fleet, which was very numer-

ous,

ous, was hauled up; for had it been ſummer, when his veſſels are at ſea, their ſhips might have been eaſily deſtroyed.

Notwithſtanding this attempt, the admiral diſmiſſed one of the captives at the firſt port at which he touched, with a letter to the Zamorin; in which he mentioned the ſnares that had been laid for him by the Arabians; apologized for his carrying away the Malabars, and profeſſed the utmoſt regard for his majeſty. He promiſed to labour to eſtabliſh ſuch a league between him and the king of Portugal, as would redound to their mutual advantage: aſſuring him, that the priſoners he had taken away, ſhould be well treated, and ſent back with the next Portugueſe fleet to their native country.

Still ſteering along the coaſt, De Gama entered among certain ſmall iſlands; from one of which there came ſeveral pinnaces with fiſh and other proviſions. The Portugueſe treated the people kindly; and having given them ſhirts and other things, with their leaves, ſet up a croſs, and named the place Santa Maria. A week after he left the laſt mentioned place, the admiral anchored at ſix ſmall iſlands near the ſhore, where he took in water; and the people brought him hens, gourds, and milk: at the ſame time, they informed him, that the country abounded with cinnamon. Some Portugueſe were ſent on ſhore to learn the truth of this report; who returned with the news that they had ſeen entire woods of cinnamon trees.

From hence he proceeded to one of the Anchediva iſlands, which are five in number, where the admiral reſolved to careen his ſhips: but while the firſt was a-ground, there appeared two brigantines with their drums beating and trumpets ſounding, beſide five others that were near the ſhore. Theſe the Malabars ſaid were pirates; who under the colour of friendſhip, plundered all the veſſels that came in their way. Upon receiving this intelligence, he gave orders for firing upon them, as ſoon as they were in reach

reach of his guns: and at this unexpected reception, they retreated as faſt as poſſible.

Among the multitudes that crowded to the ſhore to view the ſhips, came a perſon in a ſmall veſſel, who ſeemed to be about 40 years of age, and of a different country. He no ſooner landed, than he ran up to the admiral, and then to the other captains, embracing them as familiarly, as if they had been his intimate acquaintance: and having paid his compliments in the Italian tongue, told them he was a Chriſtian, born in Italy; but that having been taken by pirates in his youth, while on a voyage to Greece with his parents, he had ſuffered a variety of misfortunes, and been hitherto excluded from the hopes of reviſiting his native country. He obſerved, that he had been forced to enter into the ſervice of a Mahometan prince, named Sabay, the ſovereign of an iſland at about twelve leagues diſtance, called Goa; but that, though he was obliged to comply with the worſhip of the Mahometans, he was ſtill in his heart a Chriſtian. He told the admiral that he was the prime miniſter and confident of his ſovereign; and that hearing there were certain ſtrange ſhips at Calicut, whoſe men were cloathed from head to foot, and ſpoke a language unknown in the Indies, he judged them to be Chriſtians, and beſought Sabay to give him leave to go and ſee them: which he had not only granted, but ordered him to tell them, that whatever his country afforded was at their ſervice. He concluded with deſiring that he might have a cheeſe to ſend to a companion of his on ſhore, as a token of his being well received. Though this gave the admiral ſome ſuſpicion, he ordered him the cheeſe, with two loaves; which the ſtranger accordingly ſent on ſhore, and continued talking to De Gama, aſking him a number of queſtions, that ſeemed to denote an uncommon curioſity. His being ſo full of words increaſed the admiral's jealouſy, and his brother aſked ſome of the natives who he was? when they told him that he was a pirate, and had be

other ſhips that had been there before. Upon this, the admiral ordered him to be carried on board and whipped, to make him confeſs who he was, and the deſign of his coming; and this having no effect, he had the inhumanity to order him to be hung by the genitals, and hoiſted up and let down by a pulley. After the fourth torture, he confeſſed that he was a Poliſh Jew; and that Sabay, having a deſign to attack the Portugueſe ſhips, had ſent him to diſcover their ſtrength and manner of fighting. The admiral then ordered him to be confined under the hatches, and cured of the hurt he had ſuffered; telling him, that he did not deſign to make a ſlave of him, but would carry him to Portugal, to give ſome account of the country to the king: and being uſed kindly, he was afterward baptized by the name of Jaſper de Gama, and became very ſerviceable to the Portugueſe on many occaſions.

On the 5th of October, De Gama left this coaſt, having firſt ordered the veſſel he had taken to be burned. He now ſteered for Melinda; but was expoſed to great danger by the length of the paſſage, occaſioned by ſtorms, calms, and contrary winds: by which means, the men became ſo dreadfully afflicted with the ſcurvy, that there were not above 16 men fit for labour in each ſhip. To prevent their over-ſhooting Melinda, the ſhips came to an anchor every night: but on their arriving at a village of Moors, within ten leagues of that city, there appeared eight large boats, filled with ſoldiers, ſteering directly toward the ſhips; but the admiral firing upon them, they ſoon tacked about, and fled. At length he arrived at Melinda; where he again met with a moſt friendly reception, and was ſupplied with refreſhments. He ſtaid there five days, and then ſailed, taking with him the ambaſſador the king of Melinda had before promiſed to ſend to Portugal; and as the admiral had not a ſufficient number of men to navigate the three ſhips, he burned the St. Raphael, commanded by his brother.

On

On the 27th of February, De Gama reached Zanjibar, a pretty large iſland, in 6° ſouth latitude; near which are two others, Pemba and Monfia, all of them very fertile. The prince of Zanjibar, though a Mahometan, entertained the Portugueſe with great hoſpitality; and furniſhed them with a ſupply of fruit and freſh proviſions. De Gama ſteered from thence along the coaſt; and paſſing Moſambique, took in wood and water at the iſland of San Blas. On the 26th of April, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and then ſteered for the iſland of St. Jago: but the two ſhips being ſeparated by a violent ſtorm, Nicholas Coello, who commanded the Berrio, being in haſte to carry the news of the diſcovery to the king, ſteered directly for Liſbon; and on the 10th of July put into Cuſcais. The admiral, on his arriving at St. Jago, left his ſhip to be fitted up; and hiring a caraval, arrived at Belem in September, 1499, after a voyage of two years and two months, in which he had loſt above half his men.

The King, overjoyed at his return, ſent a nobleman and ſeveral gentlemen to conduct him to court; in the way to which, he paſſed through crowds of ſpectators, and was received with extraordinary honours. For this ſervice, he was honoured with the title of Don: a part of the king's arms was added to his, and an annual penſion of 3000 ducats was granted to him. Nicholas Coello was made a Fidalgo, and had an appointment of 100 ducats; and, in ſhort, the king himſelf augmented his own title on account of this new diſcovery, vainly ſtiling himſelf Lord of the Conqueſt and Navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Perſia, and the Indies. Upon this occaſion, public thankſgivings were made throughout the kingdom, for the ſucceſs of the voyage; to which ſucceeded feaſts and entertainments: and thoſe who had long repreſented theſe deſigns as impracticable, now grew aſhamed of their oppoſition, and became the moſt zealous in recommending them.

THE FIRST VOYAGE

MADE TO THE EAST INDIES,

ON ACCOUNT OF THE

ENGLISH EAST-INDIA COMPANY:

Under the Command of Captain, afterward Sir JAMES LANCASTER.

THE firſt perſon who propoſed the eſtabliſhing the Eaſt India trade in England, was one Mr. Robert Thorne, a merchant of London, who ſettled at Seville in Spain; and reſiding there many years, gained a perfect knowledge of the manner in which both the Eaſt and Weſt Indies were diſcovered. This very judicious gentleman, who, from his writings yet extant, appears to have drawn his knowledge, in an equal degree, from books and experience, applied himſelf, about the year 1527, to his majeſty king Henry VIII. to whom he repreſented very fully, yet in few words, the vaſt advantages that would accrue to his ſubjects by a direct commerce to the Eaſt Indies: and to ſuit his propoſal to the great genius and high ſpirit of that prince, he adviſed him, not only to encourage this new navigation, but to attempt it by a new rout; for as the Portugueſe had puſhed their diſcoveries to the eaſt, and the Spaniards to the weſt, ſo he was ambitious that the Engliſh nation ſhould find a way to the Indies of their own, and that by the north.

But it is worthy of obſervation, that this gentleman was early aware of the inſuperable difficulties that

that have been ſince found in ſearching for a paſſage to the north-eaſt; and therefore propoſed, for good reaſons, ſailing directly north, or at leaſt very near it: from which he thought many advantages might be gained, and many inconveniences avoided. As for inſtance, he conceived that this might be undertaken at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, as to enjoy the benefit of the half year's day in that climate: and he thought it abſurd to ſuppoſe, that the ſeas were frozen under the north-pole, at a time when the ſun, from its long continuance on the horizon, muſt have ſuch prodigious force. He likewiſe judged, that whatever difficulties might occur in the beginning of ſuch a paſſage, they muſt be quickly and certainly got over; and be fully recompenſed, by coming ſoon on the coaſt of Tartary and Japan, and ſo to China and the Manillas. To ſay the truth, if we conſider the time when this propoſal was made, the ſagacity and penetration of this gentleman can ſcarce be enough commended or admired; ſince it is very certain, that if ever any diſcovery is made on this ſide, it muſt be by this method.

But, how wiſe or how practicable ſoever Mr. Thorne's ſcheme might be, it was conſidered in no other light, than as a project too bold to be put in execution; and to ſay the truth, the firſt perſon that gave us any light into this navigation was Sir Francis Drake, in the year 1578. The very next year Mr. Stevens went from Liſbon to Goa by the Cape of Good Hope, and wrote a large account of his voyage while he reſided at Goa. A. D. 1586, Candiſhe made his voyage round the world; which having clearly opened a paſſage to theſe parts, captain George Raymond, in a ſhip of his own, called the Penelope, accompanied by two others, called the Merchant-Royal, and the Edward Bonaventure, ſailed in the year 1591 for the Eaſt Indies, not with a view to trade, but to cruize upon the Portugueſe. This voyage was extreamly unfortunate; for captain Raymond found him-

himſelf obliged, at the Cape of Good Hope, to ſend home the Merchant Royal, with the ſick men they had in the three ſhips. Having doubled that Cape, and ſailed about ſixty leagues, he was loſt in the Penelope; ſo that captain James Lancaſter, in the Edward Bonaventure, was the only one that performed this voyage, and that too with very indifferent fortune: for after a diſaſtrous voyage to the eaſt, he was obliged to paſs from thence to the Weſt Indies, where having loſt his ſhip, he with much difficulty, by the aſſiſtance of a French privateer he met with in thoſe parts, returned home.

But in this ſpace of time, though no Engliſh ſhips had been ſent to the Indies for commerce, abundance of Engliſhmen had been there in different ſervices; and on their return home, gave ſuch an account of thoſe countries, and of the eaſe with which the Engliſh might ſettle factories, and eſtabliſh a regular trade thither, that many great men, and rich merchants, began to entertain a deſire of eſtabliſhing ſuch a commerce: and that they might do this effectually, they applied themſelves to queen Elizabeth for a charter, and ſhe accordingly granted them one, which was dated the 31ſt of December 1600, in the forty-third year of her reign. This charter was excluſive; and the queen bound herſelf not to grant any charter to other merchants, for the ſpace of fifteen years: but with this proviſo, that if within that ſpace this charter ſhould appear to be detrimental to the public, it ſhould, upon two years warning, under the privy-ſeal, become void: but if from experience it ſhould appear, that this new corporation was a public benefit, then ſhe promiſed to renew their charter, with ſuch additional clauſes in their favour, as ſhould appear requiſite.

It was in conſequence of this charter that the company immediately began to raiſe a joint ſtock for carrying their project into execution; and this with ſuch induſtry, that in a very ſhort ſpace their treaſurer had in

in his hands ſeventy-two thouſand pounds: upon which it was reſolved to fit out five able ſhips to begin their correſpondence in that part of the world. Theſe were the Dragon of 600 tons and 202 men, commanded by captain James Lancaſter, general; the Hector of 300 tons and 108 men, under the command of captain John Middleton, vice-admiral; the Aſcenſion of 260 tons and 32 men, in which was William Brand, chief governor; and the Suſan carrying 84 men, commanded by captain John Hayward: to which was added the Gueſt, a ſhip of 130 tons, as a victualler. There were in each of the four ſhips three merchants, who were to ſucceed each other in caſe of death; and the fleet was furniſhed with proviſions for 20 months. There were on board in merchandize and Spaniſh money to the value of 27,000l. and all the reſt of the company's ſtock was laid out in the purchaſe and equipment of the ſhips; in providing them with neceſſaries, and advancing money to the mariners. Queen Elizabeth gave them letters of recommendation to ſeveral princes of India; and as no great action can be well carried on, without an abſolute authority, ſhe granted the general a commiſſion of martial law.

This fleet ſailed from Dartmouth on the 18th of April, 1601, and put into Torbay, where the general ſent inſtructions on board all the ſhips, for keeping company at ſea; and appointed the places of rendezvous, in caſe of ſeparation.

On the 22d of April they departed for the Canaries, and in the morning of the 5th of May, had ſight of Alegranza, the moſt northerly of theſe iſlands; but being frequently becalmed, and often meeting with contrary winds, it was the 21ſt of June before they got into two degrees north, where ſpying a Portugueſe ſhip, they chaſed and took her †.

† Portugal was at that time ſubject to the Spaniards, with whom queen Elizabeth was then at war.

The Engliſh took out of her 146 butts of wine, 176 jars of oil, 12 barrels of oil, and 55 hogſheads of meal, which were diſtributed among the ſhips, and was a great help to them during the whole voyage.

On the laſt of June they paſſed the line, and the 25th of July, got into 19° 40′ ſouth latitude, where they unloaded the Gueſt victualler; and, after taking her maſts, ſails, and yards, broke down her higher buildings for fire-wood, and left her floating in the ſea. Nine days after, they croſſed the tropic of Capricorn, when many of them falling ſick from their continuing ſo long under the line; by the firſt of Auguſt, all the ſhips, except the general's, were ſo thin of men, that they had ſcarce a ſufficient number to handle their ſails: and the want of hands, became at laſt ſo great, that in ſome of the ſhips the merchants took their turns at the helm, and, like common ſailors, went aloft to take in the ſails: but at length, a fair wind ſpringing up, they, on the 9th of September, reached Saldanna, and the Hector came to an anchor. The general ſent his boats to aſſiſt the other ſhips in entering the harbour; and even went on board them himſelf, with a ſufficient number of men, to hoiſt out their boats for them.

The reaſon why his crew were in better health than thoſe of the other ſhips, was owing to the general's having brought ſome bottles of the juice of lemons to ſea with him; of which he gave to every perſon on board, as long as it laſted, three ſpoonfuls every morning faſting, not ſuffering them to eat any thing after it till noon.

Mr. Lancaſter, having revived the ſpirits of the feeble crews in the other ſhips, by the aſſiſtance he afforded them, went on ſhore; and meeting with ſome of the natives, gave them ſeveral trifles, as knives, and pieces of iron, making ſigns for them to bring him cows and ſheep; which he eaſily made them underſtand, by ſpeaking in the language of the cattle themſelves. He made a noiſe like the lowing

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of horned cattle, to ſhew that he wanted them; and uſed the ſound *baa* for ſheep, which the natives eaſily underſtood. Having diſmiſſed the people, well ſatisfied with their preſents and kind uſage, he gave orders that every ſhip's company ſhould bring their ſails on land; erect tents for their ſick, and alſo raiſe works for their defence, in caſe the natives ſhould take any diſguſt, and make an attempt againſt them. Mr. Lancaſter alſo gave orders, that when the natives came down with cattle, only five or ſix men, appointed for that purpoſe, ſhould go to deal with them; and that a body of men, with muſkets and pikes, which were never to be leſs than 30, ſhould come no nearer the place of ſale than 140 or 200 yards; but ſhould always ſtand drawn up in a rank, with their muſkets on their reſts, to be ready againſt all accidents. This prudent order being ſtrictly obſerved, none could go to ſpeak with any of the natives without leave; which had ſo happy an effect, that the harmony which now ſubſiſted between them, was not broken during their ſtay.

The third day after their arrival, the people brought down beef and mutton, which the ſhips companies bought for pieces of old iron hoops; giving two pieces of eight inches each for an ox, and one piece of eight inches for a ſheep: which ſo well pleaſed the natives, that in ten or twelve days they ſold them 1000 ſheep, and 42 oxen, and would have ſupplied them with many more if they had wanted. Theſe oxen were full as big as the Engliſh, and very fat: many of the ſheep were much larger than thoſe of the Engliſh breed, and the fleſh exceeding good, fat and ſweet. However, after this trade was over, though the natives often came to viſit them, they ſhewed no inclination to renew it; but when the Engliſh made ſigns for more ſheep, they pointed to thoſe that had been bought, which were kept grazing upon the hills about the tents: it was therefore imagined, that the natives were under ſome apprehenſions of their intending to ſettle there.

The General having cauſed all the tents to be taken down, and received on board a freſh ſupply of wood and water, put to ſea on the 29th of October; and on the 26th of November, fell in with the head-land of the iſland of Madagaſcar, ſomewhat to the eaſt of Cape Sebaſtian, and continued plying to the eaſtward till the 15th of December, about which time, the men began again to fall ſick of the ſcurvy.

On the 17th day, they had ſight of the ſouthermoſt part of St. Mary's Iſland; and the next day, having anchored between it and Madagaſcar, they ſent their boats aſhore to the former iſland, where they got plenty of lemons and oranges.

St. Mary's Iſland is high land, and full of woods: the people are black, and the men tall and handſome, with curled hair; only they ſtroke up that on their foreheads, by which means it ſtands about three inches upright. They go quite naked, except a ſmall covering hanging from the waiſt; and ſeem to be extreamly brave, yet are eaſy to converſe with. Though their principal food is rice and fiſh, the Engliſh could get but a ſmall quantity of the former; for as harveſt was at hand, they had nearly conſumed their whole ſtock. They could therefore obtain nothing more than a little goat's milk; for they ſaw only one cow, and that was driven away as ſoon as the people perceived the Engliſh were landing. As there was ſo little refreſhment to be obtained, and as the place they rode in was very dangerous, they ſailed on the 23d for Antongil: on the 25th, they entered that bay, and came to an anchor between a ſmall iſland lying in the bottom of the bay and the main, which was a very ſafe road; but on landing on this little iſland, they found a writing laid in the rocks, that five Dutch ſhips had been there about two months before; and that while they rode in that place, they had loſt 150 or 200 men by ſickneſs.

Landing the day after in the main iſland, the people ſoon repaired to them; and by ſigns informed them

them of the five Dutch ſhips, and that they had bought the moſt part of their proviſions. However, they entered into barter with the Engliſh; to whom they ſold hens, rice, oranges, lemons, and plantains, but held them up at a high rate. The natives were very ſubtle in buying and ſelling, continually inſiſting upon having a little more; and if that was once complied with, none would afterward ſell under that price.

The General, perceiving this troubleſome diſpoſition, ordered meaſures to be made for rice, which held near a quart; and appointed how many glaſs beads ſhould be given for every meaſure. The like order was made with reſpect to oranges, lemons and plantains. The number to be given for every bead was fixed; nor were they to deal on other terms. The natives, after holding off a little, at length conſented; and from this prudent regulation, their dealing became frank, and without any further cavilling or diſpute. The Engliſh bought here 15 tones and a quarter of rice, 40 or 50 buſhels of peas and beans; great ſtore of oranges, lemons and plantains, eight cows, and ſome fowl. While they rode in this bay, they joined together a pinnace of 18 tons, brought out of England in pieces; and cutting down ſome of the trees, which grew there in great abundance, ſawed them into boards, and ſheathed her. The veſſel was of uſe in going before their ſhips, in order to make the proper ſoundings, to prevent the large veſſels running on the rocks and ſhoals.

In this bay there died out of the Dragon, the maſter's mate, the chaplain, and the ſurgeon, with ten common men; and out of the Hector, the maſter and two others: all of whom were carried off by the flux, ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the water they drank on ſhore. Unfortunately, as the maſter's mate of the Dragon was carrying to land, in order to be interred, the captain of the Aſcenſion took his boat to attend the ceremony; and as it is the cuſtom

at ſea, to diſcharge ſome pieces of ordnance at the interment of any officer, the gunner fired three guns; and the bullets being in them, one ſtruck the Aſcenſion's boat, and killed both the captain and boatſwain's mate: who thus by going to ſee the burial of another, were both buried there themſelves.

On the 6th of March, the ſhips left this bay; and on the 16th, fell in with an iſland, called Roque-Piz, in 10° 30′ ſouth latitude. Here the General ſent his boat in ſearch of a proper road; but ſhe moſtly found deep water where ſhips could not ride in ſafety. In coaſting this iſland, they found that it had a beautiful appearance: it was exceeding full of cocoa-nut trees, and the fowls came flying about them in ſuch multitudes, that the ſailors killed many of them with their oars; and theſe were found to be the fatteſt and beſt they had taſted in all their voyage.

After being ſeveral times in danger of running upon the rocks, they, on the 9th of May, had ſight of the iſlands of Nicobar; and bearing in, anchored on the ſouth-ſide under a ſmall iſland that lies near the ſhore. Here they met with few refreſhments, except freſh water, and ſome cocoa-nuts. The people came on board in long canoes, each of which would hold at leaſt 20 men, bringing gums to ſell inſtead of amber, by which ſeveral on board were deceived. They alſo brought hens and cocoa-nuts; but ſet ſo high a price upon them, that few were bought.

On the 6th of June, they anchored in the road of Achen, in the iſland of Sumatra, about two miles from the city; where they found 16 or 18 ſail of ſeveral nations, ſome of Bengola, and others of Calicut, Guzerat, Pegu, and Cathay. There ſoon came on board two Holland merchants, who had been left to learn the manners and language of the country: by whom they were informed, that they would be very welcome to the king, who was deſirous of entertaining ſtrangers; and that the Queen of England was renowned in theſe parts, for the great victory ſhe had obtained over the king of Spain.

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The ſame day in which the ſhips came to an anchor in the road of Achen, Mr. James Lancaſter ſent captain Middleton, with four or five gentlemen to attend him, to wait on the king; and inform him, that he was ſent from the General of thoſe ſhips, who had a meſſage and letter from the moſt illuſtrious Queen of England, to the moſt worthy king of Achen and Sumatra. He was alſo to deſire to know, if it was his majeſty's royal pleaſure, to give the General audience, with a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his people, in order to deliver his letter and meſſage.

Captain Middleton was very kindly entertained by the king, who readily granted his requeſt, and aſked him many queſtions; after which, he cauſed a banquet to be prepared for him, and at his departure gave him a robe and callico turban wrought with gold, as a ſpecial mark of his favour. He ſent word, that the General ſhould ſtay one day on board his ſhips, to reſt himſelf after the fatigues of his voyage; and the next land to receive an audience: and that he might venture on ſhore with as much ſecurity, as if he were in the kingdom of the Queen his miſtreſs.

On the day fixed, the General landed, with about 30 attendants; and, on his going on ſhore, was met by the Dutch merchants, who as it had been agreed, conducted him to their houſe: for he would take no houſe of his own, till he had ſpoken with the king. Soon after, a nobleman coming, ſaluted the General; and having declared that he came from his majeſty, demanded the Queen's letter: but the General refuſed to give it him; ſaying, it was the privilege of ambaſſadors in thoſe parts of the world from whence he came, to deliver their letters to the princes themſelves, and not to any who repreſented their perſon. The nobleman then deſired to ſee the ſuperſcription, which he copied; and having looked earneſtly at the ſeal, he with great courteſy took his leave, to make a report of what had paſſed.

Soon after, the king ſent ſix large elephants, with many trumpets, drums, and ſtreamers, and a conſiderable number of people, to accompany the General to court. The largeſt of the elephants was about 13 or 14 feet high, and had a ſmall caſtle like a coach upon his back, covered with a crimſon velvet; in the middle of which, was a great gold baſon, covered with a piece of ſilk richly embroidered: and into this cup was put the Queen's letter. The General was mounted upon another of the elephants: ſome of his attendants rode, and others went on foot: but on his coming to the gate of the palace, he was ſtopped by a nobleman, till he went in to know the king's farther pleaſure; but ſoon returning, he deſired the General to enter.

On his being admitted into the king's preſence, he paid him his reſpects after the manner of the country; declaring, that he was ſent from the moſt mighty Queen of England to congratulate his highneſs, and enter into a treaty of peace and amity with him. As he was going on with his diſcourſe, the king interrupted him, ſaying, "I am ſure you are weary with the "long voyage you have taken, and would have you "ſit down to refreſh yourſelf: you are very welcome, "and ſhall have whatever you can in reaſon demand, "for your miſtreſs's ſake; for ſhe is worthy of all "kindneſs, ſince fame ſpeaks her to be a princeſs of "noble diſpoſition."

Upon this, the General delivered the Queen's letter; which his majeſty readily received, and then delivered it to a nobleman who ſtood by. The General next offered the preſent, which was a ſilver baſon with a fountain in the middle, the whole weighing 205 ounces; a large ſilver cup, a rich looking-glaſs, a head-piece, on which was a plume of feathers; a caſe of very handſome daggers, a rich embroidered belt, and a fan of feathers. Theſe were all received by a nobleman; only the king took the fan into his

own hand, and ſeeming moſt pleaſed with that, cauſed one of his women to fan him with it.

The General then ſeating himſelf croſs-legged on the ground, according to the cuſtom of the country, a very great banquet was ſerved up; all the diſhes of which were either of pure gold, or of another metal much eſteemed at Achen, called Tambaick, which is a mixture of gold and braſs. During this entertainment, the king, as he ſat in a gallery about a fathom from the ground, drank ſeveral times to the General in arrack; but Mr. Lancaſter perceiving its ſtrength, after the firſt draught, drank either water alone, or mixed with the arrack. The feaſt being over, his majeſty ſent for ſome girls to come and dance, and his women to play to them on muſic: theſe women were richly dreſſed and adorned with bracelets and jewels. This was eſteemed an extraordinary favour; as they were not uſually ſeen by any, but ſuch as the king would greatly honour. The king then gave the General a fine white robe of callico, richly embroidered with gold; a very handſome Turkey leather belt, and two croſſes, which are a kind of daggers: all which a nobleman put on for him in the king's preſence. In this manner he was diſmiſſed, and a perſon ſent with him to make choice of a houſe in the city, where the General ſhould think moſt convenient: but he declined this favour, and rather choſe to return on board the ſhip.

The next time the General went to court, he had a long conference with the king about the Queen's letter; with which his majeſty ſeemed much pleaſed. He profeſſed that he was very deſirous of entering into a league with the Queen of England: obſerved, that as to the demands relating to trade, he had given two of his nobles orders to confer with him on that ſubject; and promiſed, that whatever her majeſty had requeſted, ſhould be granted.

With this ſatisfactory anſwer, the General, after another banquet, departed; and the next day ſent to

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the noblemen the king had mentioned, to know the time they would chuſe for the conference: one of them was the chief-prieſt of Achen, a man who well deſerved the high eſteem, which both the king and the people had placed in him; the other was one of the ancient nobility, a perſon of much gravity, but not ſo fit for tranſacting buſineſs as the prieſt. The conference was held in Arabic, which, both the prieſt and nobleman underſtood; and a Jew, whom the General brought from England, and who ſpoke that language perfectly, ſerved as interpreter. Several demands being made relating to the privileges of the merchants, the prieſt aſked him what reaſons he had to offer, to induce the king to grant them. Upon which the General alleged the Queen's affection and friendſhip; her worthineſs in protecting others againſt the king of Spain, the common enemy in thoſe parts: that ſovereigns grew renowned and formidable, in proportion to the wealth of their ſubjects, which was augmented by commerce: that the more kindly ſtrangers were entertained, the more trade flouriſhed; and conſequently the prince became more rich. That with regard to Achen in particular, the port lay well for the trade of Bengala, Java, the Moluccos, and China; which countries, having a vent for their merchandize, would not fail to reſort thither with them. That as by this means the king's power would increaſe, the trade of the Portugueſe, and their great ſtrength in the Indies, would gradually diminiſh. That in caſe his majeſty ſhould want any artificers, he might have them from England; only ſatisfying them for their voyage, and allowing them free liberty to return when they thought fit. That any other neceſſary, which his country afforded, ſhould be at the king's ſervice; preſuming that his majeſty would not demand any thing, to which the Queen could not with pleaſure conſent, or that ſhould be contrary either to her honour, the laws, or her leagues with Chriſtian princes.

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The conference being ended, the high-prieſt deſired the General to let him have a memorandum in writing of his reaſons, and the privileges he demanded in the Queen's name; telling him, that within a few days, he ſhould have his majeſty's anſwer. After this, ſome diſcourſe paſſed relating to the affairs of Chriſtendom; and then they broke up for that time.

The General, having taken care to ſend a copy of his demands to theſe commiſſaries, the next time he went to court, finding the king engaged at a cock-fighting, which was one of his majeſty's chief diverſions; he ſent his interpreter, to deſire his majeſty to be mindful of the buſineſs, about which he had conferred with his nobles. Upon this, the king calling the General, told him, that he would willingly enter into a peace with her majeſty; and that, as for the articles he had ſet down in writing, they ſhould all be drawn up fair by one of his ſecretaries, and authorized by himſelf: and accordingly, within five or ſix days, they were delivered to the General, by the king's own hand, with many expreſſions of kindneſs.

The ſubſtance of the articles were, firſt, That the Engliſh ſhould have free liberty and trade. Secondly, That their goods ſhould be cuſtom free, whether imported or exported; and that they ſhould be aſſiſted with the veſſels of Achen to ſave their ſhips, commodities, and men from being wrecked, in caſe of danger. Thirdly, That they ſhould have liberty to make wills, and bequeath their effects to whom they pleaſed. Fourthly, That all bargains ſhould be confirmed, and orders granted for payment, by the ſubjects of Achen. Fifthly, That they ſhould have authority to execute juſtice on their own men. Sixthly, That they ſhould have juſtice againſt the natives for injuries done them. Seventhly, That their goods ſhould not be ſtopped, nor prices ſet on them: and eighthly, That they ſhould be allowed liberty of conſcience.

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This league of peace and amity being ſettled, the merchants attempted to provide pepper for lading the ſhips; but found there was little to be had, on account of the laſt years ſterility. However, being informed by ſome of the natives, that at a port called Priaman, about 150 leagues from thence, they might lade one of their ſmall ſhips. Mr. Lancaſter ſent the Suſan thither, and appointed Mr. Henry Middleton captain and chief merchant of that veſſel.

The General was not a little concerned, that capt. John Davis, the principal pilot, had told the merchants before their leaving London, that pepper was to be had here for four rials of eight, the hundredweight; whereas it coſt them almoſt twenty: and on this account, he was perplexed how to lade the ſhips, ſo as to ſave his own credit, preſerve the eſteem of the company by which he was employed, and keep up the reputation of his country; conſidering how diſgraceful it would appear, in the eyes of the neighbouring nations, if they ſhould return empty from the Indies. Beſide, the Portugueſe ambaſſador watched every ſtep they took, though he was no ways acceptable to the king: for having, the laſt time of his being at court, aſked leave to ſettle a factory, and build a fort at the entrance of the harbour, under the pretence of ſecuring the merchant's goods from fire; the king aſked him, If his maſter had a daughter to give his ſon, that he was ſo careful of the preſervation of his country? and added, that he need not be at the charge of building a fort, ſince he had a proper houſe within land, about two leagues from the city, which he would ſpare him for the uſe of his factory; where they might dwell without fear, either of enemies or fire, for he would protect them. The king was much diſpleaſed at the inſolence of the demand; and the ambaſſador went from court much diſſatisfied.

Soon after, an Indian came to the General's houſe to ſell poultry; and as this Indian belonged to the Portu-

Portugueſe captain, who came with a cargo of rice from the port of Bengala, and laying in the ambaſſador's houſe, the General ſuſpected that the Indian was only ſent as a ſpy. However, he gave orders that he ſhould be well uſed; and that they ſhould always buy his hens, and give him a handſome price for them. At laſt, the General took occaſion to talk with him; aſked whence he came, and to what country he belonged? and brought him to confeſs, that the Portugueſe ambaſſador employed a ſpy to give him an account of the ſtrength of the Engliſh ſhips; intending to ſend the particulars to Malacca, in order that he might obtain a ſufficient force to attempt them. The General promiſed him his liberty, provided he gave him from time to time intelligence of the ambaſſador's proceedings.

The Indian went away highly ſatisfied, as was viſible by his countenance, and the quickneſs of his pace; and by his means, the General learned whatever the ambaſſador did in the day, either the ſame night or the next morning: and he behaved with ſuch caution, that neither any of the ambaſſador's family, nor the Engliſh themſelves, knew what he came about.

The next day the General was ſent for to court, where his majeſty diſcourſed with him about an embaſſy ſent him by the king of Siam, relating to the conqueſt of Malacca, and the forces he would aſſiſt him with by ſea, if he undertook that ſervice. This propoſal the General ſeconded with many reaſons: and took occaſion to mention how inſolently the Portugueſe ambaſſador behaved; and that he only came as a ſpy to diſcover the ſtrength of the kingdom. The king replied, that he knew them to be his enemies; but wondered how he came to know it. The General anſwered, That the ambaſſador had planted ſpies about him to obſerve all his actions, and to pry into his deſigns; and had gotten a draught of his ſhips, in order to ſend it to Malacca, and to procure a force from thence to attack them by ſurpriſe. At this

this the king ſmiled; obſerving, that he need not fear any danger from that quarter, ſince all the ſtrength they were able to muſter at Malacca could not do him any harm. To which the General replied, that he did not fear any attempts they could make againſt him: but that ſuch intelligence would make them keep within their ports, and prevent his being able to come at them; and therefore intreated his majeſty to detain two of the ambaſſador's ſervants, who, within three days, were to ſet out for another port, in order to avoid being intercepted, and were there to hire a boat to ſail with this intelligence to Malacca. This the king promiſed, and the General took his leave.

The ambaſſador's ſervants accordingly departed, with the draughts and their maſter's letters, to a port about 25 leagues from Achen, where, having agreed for their paſſage, they embarked; but as they were going over the bar, they were followed by a frigate, which cauſed them to lower their ſails, that the officer might ſee their lading. As ſoon as he was on board, he perceived the two Portugueſe, aſked them whence they came, and whither they were going? to which they anſwered, that they came from Achen, and belonged to the Portugueſe ambaſſador. But the officer told them, that they had robbed their maſter; and therefore, he would ſend them back to anſwer for themſelves. In the confuſion which aroſe upon this occaſion, they loſt their draughts and letters; their trunks alſo were broken open, and they ſent bound to Achen, to be delivered to the ambaſſador in caſe they belonged to him.

The General had intelligence of all that paſſed, and the Indian came daily to ſell his fowls, with his maſter's conſent. By this time, the ſummer was pretty well over; and it being now September, it was time for the General to put to ſea. But at this very time, he heard, that the ambaſſador had obtained his diſpatch from the king to be gone. Upon which, going

ing to court, he ſent his interpreter to deſire the honour of an audience; which being granted, the king demanded his errand? when the General replied, That it had pleaſed his highneſs to do him many favours, which had emboldened him to requeſt one kindneſs more. The king aſked him what it was, and whether there were more Portugueſe going to Malacca, to hinder his meaſures? The General replied, that there were: and that the ambaſſador, having obtained his majeſty's diſpatch, was determined to depart within five days; and that he begged of his majeſty to detain him ten. To which the king replied, that he would, provided he would bring him a Portugueſe maiden when he returned.

With this anſwer the General took his leave; and three ſhips being ready, the captain of a Dutch veſſel who was in the road, deſired he might bear the General company, and take a part in this adventure. His ſhip was about 200 tons; and it was agreed that he ſhould have an eighth of what ſhould be taken. Mean while the Aſcenſion was to ſtay behind to compleat her lading, of which ſhe had above three parts on board.

After Mr. Lancaſter's departure, the Portugueſe ambaſſador appeared very eager to be gone; but the king deferred ſigning his paſſport for 24 days after the general's putting to ſea, and then expreſſed his wonder that he ſhould be in ſuch haſte, ſince the Engliſh Commander was at ſea, obſerving, that as he was ſtronger than the ambaſſador, he might do him a miſchief, if he ſhould meet with him. But he replying, that he depended upon the ſwiftneſs of his frigate, and that he defied all the force of the Engliſh, the king ſeemed reconciled to his departure, and gave him his diſpatch.

On the 3d of October, cruiſing near the ſtreights of Malacca, the Hector obſerved a ſail; upon which, directions were given to ſpread themſelves out a mile and a half, that ſhe might not paſs them in the dark. The

The ſhip at length fell in with the Hector; and after a ſhort engagement, ſhe was taken. This ſhip came from St. Thomas's in the bay of Bengal, and was bound for Malacca: ſhe was of 900 tons burden, and had above 600 perſons, men, women, and children, on board. In five or ſix days they had entirely unladen her cargo, conſiſting of 950 packs of callicoes and pintadoes, a great quantity of rice and other goods. After which, a ſtorm ariſing they returned the ſhip to her commander, ſent all her men on board, and then left her riding at anchor.

On the 24th of October, they again caſt anchor in the port of Achen; when the General went on ſhore, and found all the merchants highly ſatisfied with the entertainment they had received from the king during his abſence. The General, therefore, to expreſs his gratitude, choſe ſuch of the prize goods as he thought would be moſt agreeable to his majeſty, and preſented them at his firſt going to court. The king received the preſent, welcomed the General, and ſeemed to rejoice at his good ſucceſs againſt the Portugueſe; but jeſtingly told him, he had forgot the moſt important buſineſs he had requeſted from him, which was the fair Portugueſe maiden: but the General replied, That he met with none who deſerved that honour. The General afterward commanded the merchants to put on board the Aſcenſion all the ſpices they had bought in his abſence, which were ſcarcely ſufficient to compleat her lading, and there was no more to be expected till the next year: he reſolved therefore to ſail to Bantam, where he was told that he would meet with a good ſale for his commodities, and plenty of pepper, much cheaper than at Achen. But before his departure, he went to court, and had a long conference with the king; who delivered him a letter for the Queen, written in Arabic, with a preſent to her majeſty of three rich pieces of cloth of gold, and a ring ſet with a very fine ruby. He alſo made the General a preſent of another ruby ring.

ring. On his taking leave, the king aſked him, if the Engliſh had the Pſalms of David amongſt them? To which he anſwered, that they had, and ſung them daily. Then ſaid the king, I, and theſe nobles about me, will ſing a pſalm to God for your proſperity: which being ended, the king aſked him to ſing another pſalm, though it were in his own language: and there being twelve in company, they immediately complied with his requeſt. This done, the General took his leave; when the king ſaid, He hoped God would bleſs them all in their voyage, and conduct them ſafe to their own country: adding, if hereafter your ſhips return to this port, you ſhall find the ſame good uſage you have hitherto experienced.

On the 9th of November, they left Achen; and after keeping company ten days, the admiral diſpatched his letters for England by the Aſcenſion, ſhe ſteering her courſe toward the Cape of Good Hope, and they for Bantam, in ſearch of the Suſan, which had orders to lade at Priaman. Continuing their courſe, they paſſed the line the third time, and reached Priaman on the 26th of November, where the Suſan had purchaſed about 600 bahars of pepper, and 66 of cloves. Their pepper coſt them leſs than at Achen, though none grows near the port; it being brought from a place called Manangacabo, at eight or ten leagues diſtance in the country.

Priaman produces no other commodity, but gold-duſt waſhed out of the ſands of the rivers that fall from the mountains. It is a good place of refreſhment, and is very healthful; for though it lies within 15 minutes of the line, the air is extreamly good.

The General having taken in proviſions, and ordered the captain of the Suſan to compleat her lading with pepper as ſoon as poſſible, and then to depart for England; ſailed on the 4th of December toward Bantam. On the 15th, he entered the ſtreights of Sunda; and coming to an anchor under an iſland, called Pulo Panſa, the next morning he made the

road of Bantam. On the 17th, the General ſent captain Middleton to inform the king, that he was come by order of the Queen of England, and had both a meſſage and a letter from her; requiring his majeſty's ſafe conduct, that he might land and deliver it.

The king anſwered, that he was very glad of his coming, and ſent a nobleman back with the captain to welcome the General, and accompany him on his landing. Being arrived at court, he found the king, who was a child of ten or eleven years of age, ſitting with ſixteen or eighteen noblemen about him. When Mr. Lancaſter paying his reſpects, the king welcomed him; and after ſome diſcourſe, he delivered the Queen's letter into his majeſty's hand, with a preſent of plate and other things, which the king received with apparent pleaſure, and referred the General to one of his nobles, who was then protector. After talking an hour and a half on different ſubjects, that nobleman invited him to land his men; aſſuring him, that they might buy and ſell without moleſtation, and with as much ſafety, as if they were in their own country.

As faſt as they bought their pepper, they ſent it on board; ſo that by the 10th of February, 1603, their ſhips were compleatly laden, and ready to depart. In the mean time, capt. Middleton, of the Hector, fell ſick on board; upon which the General went to viſit him, but though he found him walking about, he died early the next morning.

The General now ordered the pinnace, which held about 40 tons, to be laden with commodities; and putting in her twelve men, with ſome merchants, ſent her to trade and ſettle a factory at the Moluccas, againſt the return of the next ſhips from England. He alſo left eight men and three factors at Bantam; appointing Mr. Storkey, the principal perſon amongſt them, to ſell ſuch goods as he left behind, and to provide lading for the ſhips againſt the next return. Then going to court to take leave of the king, he received

received a letter and preſent for Queen Elizabeth; which conſiſted of ſome bezoar ſtones, with one for himſelf, together with a Java dagger.

On the 20th of February, they ſet ſail for England; and after ſuffering by ſeveral violent ſtorms, the ſea, on the 3d of May, beat with ſuch violence on the Dragon's quarter, that it ſhook the iron-work of the rudder with ſuch force, that the next morning it broke quite off from the ſtern and ſunk. The terror and apprehenſion of the men were now at the greateſt height, the moſt experienced mariners being at a loſs how to proceed; for in this tempeſtuous ſea, the ſhip drove up and down like a wreck, which way ſoever the wind carried her; ſo that ſhe was ſometimes within three or four leagues of the Cape of Good Hope, and was then driven by a contrary wind to almoſt 40° ſouthward into the hail and ſnow, where they ſuffered greatly by the cold, which rendered their caſe ſtill more deplorable. Yet all this while, the Hector induſtriouſly kept her company; but after trying ſeveral expedients, they found, that unleſs they could make a new rudder, and hang it, they muſt periſh in theſe ſeas. This they were at a loſs how to perform in ſo dangerous a part of the ocean, the ſhip being of 7 or 800 tons burden: but neceſſity obliging them to try all poſſible means, the General ordered the carpenter to make one out of the mizen-maſt; and though they had loſt moſt of the irons which faſtened it, they proceeded with the work; and one of the men dived down the ſide of the ſhip to ſearch what irons were left behind, when he found only two whole and one broken.

The rudder being finiſhed, and having a fair day, they faſtened it on, and proceeded homeward; but within three or four hours, the ſea took it off again, and they had much ado to ſave it, with the loſs of another of their irons; ſo that now having only two to hang it by, the men deſpaired of ſucceeding, and deſired to quit the ſhip and go in the Hector: but

this the General oppoſed, and going into his cabin, wrote a letter to England to be carried by the Hector, which he ordered to depart, and leave him there, without letting one of the company know of it. This letter being delivered, the General expected the Hector would have left him in the night: but he found her within ſight in the morning, and ſhe ſtill kept two or three leagues from him; for the maſter, who was an honeſt worthy man, loved the General, and was loath to leave him in ſuch diſtreſs. However, the people on board now found it neceſſary to exert themſelves: the carpenter mended the rudder again, and within two or three days, the weather beginning to be ſomewhat fair, and the ſea ſmooth, they made a ſignal to the Hector, who came up; and the maſter bringing with him the beſt ſwimmers he had in his ſhip, helped them to hang the rudder again ſo firmly, that they were in hopes of at length getting into a port.

Being ſenſible that they had doubled the Cape of Good Hope by the height they were in to the northward, they ſailed directly for the iſland of St. Helena; which, to their great joy, they reached on the 16th of June, and caſt anchor in twelve fathoms water, oppoſite a ſmall chapel which the Portugueſe had built there long before. On their landing, they found many writings, by which they were informed that the Carracks had departed but eight days before. While they ſtaid there, they repaired their ſhips; and all their ſick recovered by the refreſhments they received on ſhore, of which they had great need: ſince they had been continually beating the ſea for three months without ſeeing land.

On the 5th of July, they ſet ſail from this iſland, ſteering north-weſt; and on the 11th of September, 1603, compleated their voyage, by arriving ſafe in the Downs.

A VOYAGE TO THE CAPE DE VERDE ISLANDS,

by Capt. GEORGE ROBERTS.

THIS voyage is inſerted for the ſake of giving a more diſtinct account of the Cape de Verde iſlands, than is to be met with in the voyages of thoſe who have only touched at them, or ſtaid for a day or two to take in freſh ſupplies of wood and water. By giving this, and the following account of the Cape of Good Hope, we avoid numerous repetitions that would have ſwelled this work, and many erroneous accounts that would have rendered it inaccurate.

IN the year 1721, Mr. Roberts agreed with ſeveral merchants of London to ſail to Virginia, and there to take the command of a ſloop, which he was to load with a cargo for the coaſt of Guinea; and having ſold it, he was to purchaſe ſlaves, and return with them either to Virginia or Barbadoes, as he found it moſt for the intereſt of his employers: and when he had diſpoſed of them, he was to take in a freight for London. He accordingly ſet ſail, and on his arrival at Virginia purchaſed a ſloop and proper cargo, with which he ſteered to the Cape de Verde iſlands.

But this unhappy gentleman was ſoon involved in the deepeſt diſtreſs. Near St. Nicholas, one of theſe iſlands, he was taken by pirates, who had three ſhips One of the commanders treated him with great civi

lity; and extraordinary offers were made him to induce him to join them: but he reſiſted them with the utmoſt ſteadineſs. They, however, at laſt conſented to his going on board his own ſhip, when a propoſal was even made to allow him ſome ſpare goods and neceſſaries; but refuſing to drink the Pretender's health, one of the commanders, who had before oppoſed every favourable meaſure, attempted to ſhoot him through the head: and had afterward the cruelty, having firſt inſulted over him in the moſt inhuman manner, to put him on board his own veſſel at midnight, without proviſions, without water, without ſails, or any hands, but his two boys, one of whom was not more than eight years old. His condition was rendered ſtill more dreadful by the want of candle, and his ſloop being leaky, and having much water.

Mr. Roberts went on board with a mind compoſed and reſigned. He firſt with great labour and fatigue, by the aſſiſtance of his biggeſt boy, pumped his ſloop dry; and day-light no ſooner appeared, than he rummaged to find if the barbarous wretches had left him any thing that might ſupport life: but found only a few crumbs in the bread-lockers, a little tobacco, ten gallons of rum, a ſmall quantity of rice, a remnant of flour at the bottom of a caſk, and about two quarts of water, which he carefully drained out of all the caſks. He had alſo the happineſs to find ſome old ſail-cloth, with which in three days he patched up a kind of ſail, during which he fed on raw flour and rice, drinking nothing but rum: but the heat of the climate, and the fatigues to which he and his boys were daily expoſed, rendering other food neceſſary, he made cakes of dough, and his water was conſumed. They now felt the extreams of parching thirſt, which the rum would not aſſwage, and had the proſpect of dying for want of water, when they were happily relieved by a ſhower of rain; of which they ſaved about a gallon, beſide what they drank while the precious drops were falling. They now made a kind

of

of pap, of flour and water; which hunger made them think a delicious food. They huſbanded their proviſions with the utmoſt care; and about a fortnight after caught a ſhark, on which they alſo fed, drying what was left, in the ſun.

About three weeks after their leaving the pirates, they, to their great joy, came in ſight of the iſland of St. Anthony; but having had, a day or two before, a freſh ſupply of water from the clouds, Mr. Roberts choſe to ſteer for St. Nicholas, where he was known. It was late in the evening when he reached the anchoring place of that iſland, and almoſt dark before the boat could be got out; he therefore deferred landing till the next morning. But his ſcanty ſupply of water being now ſpent, the biggeſt boy earneſtly preſſed his maſter to let him ſcull the boat aſhore and fill a cag. To this he conſented, on his promiſing to return directly on board.

The boy was no ſooner gone, than Mr. Roberts, overcome by his paſt fatigues, was taken ill; and, ordering the little boy to look out for the boat, went into his cabin, where he inſenſibly dropped aſleep, and thus continued till midnight: when, returning on deck, he found the ſhip almoſt out of ſight of the iſland. Aſtoniſhed and afflicted at this misfortune, and finding that the veſſel had made a great deal of water, he began to deſpair of his ever being able to make the land without the boy, or to keep the ſhip from ſinking by labouring at the pump: her anchor too was out, and he apprehended that he ſhould be unable to haul it up.

However, the danger of ſinking being the moſt imminent, he applied to that; and in three or four hours, ſucked the pump dry. Afterward, with much fatigue, he heaved the anchor on board. Parched with thirſt, and without a drop of water, he remained for ſome time near the iſland, without being able to make it for want of hands; but at laſt found a ſandy bay, where he caſt anchor. The ſame even-

ing ſeven negroes came in a boat to his aſſiſtance, bringing with them twenty gallons of water: a ſeaſonable ſupply, that raiſed his drooping ſpirits. Theſe people came on board at the ſollicitations of the boy on ſhore: but Mr. Roberts could not prevail with them to ſtay till the next morning, before they attempted to ſteer the ſhip into the port of Paragheſi. They immediately weighed the anchor, and ſet ſail: but in the night the main-ſail ſplit, which ſo daunted theſe negroe ſailors, who had got drunk with the rum they had found on board, that they betook themſelves to their boat; and Mr. Roberts was once more left deſtitute in his leaky veſſel, which he the next day endeavoured to ſteer to land.

While he was thus employed, he, to his great ſurpriſe, heard the voices of three men in the hold; and, on enquiry, he found they had been left there dead drunk by their companions. One of theſe fellows offered to pilot the ſloop either into St. Jago's or St. John's: but not being able to make the land ſo ſoon as they expected, they were all ſo diſcouraged, that they laid down in the hold, giving themſelves up for loſt; and would neither pump nor work the ſhip, till they heard Mr. Roberts inſtructing the boy at the helm; when they called out to know if he ſaw land? and being anſwered that he was ſailing directly to St. John's, they came with the utmoſt alacrity on board, and of their own accord pumped the ſhip dry. One of them pretended to know the harbour, but when he came near the iſland was utterly at a loſs, and in this diſtreſs reſolutely inſiſted on putting the ſloop upon the rocks; till Mr. Roberts took up an old gun, which had been left by the pirates, and threatened to ſhoot the firſt who attempted it: upon which the pretended pilot leaped overboard, and ſwam to land; and ſoon after Mr. Roberts hauled in ſo cloſe to Punto de Sal, that he could almoſt leap on ſhore, on which he was left by the other negroes.

It

It may here ſeem ſomewhat extraordinary, that Mr. Roberts ſhould be able to converſe with the negroes: but the wonder will ceaſe when the reader is informed, that the language of the natives of all theſe iſlands is a dialect of that of the Mandingo negroes, mixed with a corrupt Portugueſe; of both which he had a tolerable ſmattering.

That night Mr. Roberts ſaw ſeveral of the natives on the top of the rocks; and the next morning three of them came down, ſwam to the ſhip, and welcomed him to their iſland: they offered to get him what he wanted, if he would go aſhore with them; and on his telling them he could not ſwim, expreſſed their ſurpriſe, that a man ſhould venture to ſea without ſo neceſſary a qualification. Theſe were ſoon followed by other negroes, who brought him refreſhments; and he having made a hearty meal of a pompion and boiled rice, three of them went to catch him ſome fiſh, while the others ſtaid to work the ſhip dry. In ſhort, after the dreadful fatigues he had ſuffered, and his being emaciated by abſtinence and watching, he was kindly regaled with a diſh of fiſh for his ſupper; and perſuaded to take ſome repoſe, which he gladly accepted.

The next day the weather beginning to look very unpromiſing, Mr. Roberts was in ſome fear of being driven out to ſea; and the negroes having in vain endeavoured to faſten a rope to the rocks, they offered to ſwim with him and his boy to land: however, he did not chuſe to leave the veſſel, while there was the leaſt probability of ſaving her. But the following day proving very ſtormy, in ſpite of all his efforts, ſhe drove on the rocks, and beat a great hole in her bottom. The water now riſing as high on the inſide as without, the affrighted negroes left him with the boy; but when the ſtorm abated, kindly returned and ſwam aſhore with the lad: and Mr. Roberts now conſenting to leave the veſſel, two of them took him, one by each arm, bidding him not be afraid, but

but truſt in St. Anthony, for they did not doubt of carrying him ſafe. However, when they had got about midway, the ſea breaking over them, one of the blacks dived down and let go his hold; but a third, who was behind, roſe like a fiſh, and ſupplied his place; which the other who had forſook him ſeeing, he ſwam back to the veſſel to ſave what he could: but he had hardly got aſhore with a looking-glaſs and ſome old ſhoes, before the form of the ſloop was loſt, her ſtern and part of the deck being driven away.

Thus was our author happily delivered from the danger of a boiſterous ſea. Some of the natives who were on the tops of the rocks, but could not ſee whether he got on ſhore, came down to his relief; and finding him ſafe, ſwam to the wreck, and brought all the pieces of the veſſel, and every thing elſe they could ſave, to the rocks, and depoſited them in ſafety out of the reach of the ſea. They made a fire to dry Mr. Roberts's cloaths; expreſſed their admiration at the wiſdom of the white men, and their regard for the Engliſh: caught him fiſh, and dreſſed it for him. The governor of the iſland ſent ſeveral perſons to him, with the moſt friendly offers of giving him all the aſſiſtance in his power. He was now ſupplied with milk and fruit; and the ſon of a perſon who had been formerly governor, came in a moſt obliging manner with ſeveral kinds of fruit, and a cake of bread made of bananas and maize. In ſhort, every one ſtrove who ſhould moſt oblige him, without expecting or deſiring any thing in return.

Mr. Roberts's ſituation was however ſtill very uncomfortable. He had fixed himſelf upon a ſhelf of the rocks, under the covert of others which hung over his head. The rocks aroſe above to an amazing height; and it was not without great difficulty and danger, that the friendly natives deſcended theſe dreadful precipices to his aſſiſtance, which it was impoſſible for him to climb. They were forced to ſwim from thence, not only to the fiſhing place, but to

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get freſh water, at a place where a ſpring ran from the rocks: they, however, ſpared no pains to ſerve him; and ſome of them made beds of leaves and ſtaid with him in the night, while he lay upon his own bed, which they had found ſwimming in the ſea, and had dried in the ſun.

Mr. Roberts and the boy had been ſome days in this ſituation, when diſcourſing with the friendly natives, he obſerved a man who had light hair that was not woolly, and a very tawny complexion; who inſtantly, to his great joy and ſurpriſe, ſpoke to him in Engliſh. This was a Welchman, named Charles Franklin; who, having been taken by ſome pirates, had eſcaped from them in the port of Sierra Leona: and after ſtaying a conſiderable time in Africa, came to this iſland. His converſation afforded our author the higheſt ſatisfaction; and he had hopes of being ſoon delivered from his diſagreeable ſituation among the rocks, by having the only boat in the iſland ſent to take him round into the bay: this boat, however, not coming at the time expected, Mr. Roberts, contrary to the advice of all the negroes, reſolved to attempt to climb the rocks; and they, finding him reſolute, lent him their aſſiſtance. With great difficulty he aſcended half way up the firſt rock; when looking down, his head grew dizzy, he trembled, and narrowly eſcaped falling at once to the bottom: but he was ſupported by the friendly negroes. He then got to the firſt reſting place, which is at leaſt as high as St. Paul's cupola from the bottom. They had then a path about three feet broad, which ſeemed like a gallery, only wanting rails. Along that path they walked about three quarters of a mile, or more, ſometimes deſcending, but moſtly aſcending; and in ſome places it was ſo narrow, that they were obliged to paſs firſt, and to reach the ends of their poles to him. At length, the aſcent grew in a manner perpendicular; and two of the negroes mounting before the reſt, ſtruck a crag of the rock, as was their cuſtom, to try whether

whether it would bear them; when a huge piece tumbled over them, and raiſed ſuch a duſt, that the air, as far as the ſight could reach, ſeemed filled with ſmoke; and it made ſuch a terrible noiſe, that Mr. Roberts thought all the rocks above them were falling on their heads. After all was quiet, and the duſt laid, the two above, whom it was imagined had been daſhed to pieces, came down to thoſe who ſtaid with Mr. Roberts, and rejoiced to find them all ſafe. The aſcent for the reſt of the way was now found too ſteep for ſo poor a climber as our author; they therefore with great difficulty and danger deſcended with him, and at laſt reached the bottom, without any accident.

But the exceſſive heat of the ſun reflected by the rocks, and the fatigues our author had endured in this excurſion, threw him into a fever, that laſted near a month; during which he was attended with the utmoſt care and affection by theſe humane people, and on his recovery was taken in the boat to the harbour: and being now ſo weak as to be ſcarcely able to ſtand, was faſtened upon the governor's horſe, and conducted to his houſe; the road to which was extreamly rocky and uneven.

The governor welcomed him with all the ſigns of joy imaginable, and would have perſuaded him to lodge in his houſe; but this honour, as it was termed, had been earneſtly ſolicited by Singore Gumms, the ſon of a former governor, who frequently attended him while he was confined among the rocks, and had treated him with the utmoſt care and affection. Mr. Roberts therefore excuſed himſelf as handſomely as he was able; and after having ſtaid ſome hours at the governor's houſe, he was conducted to the cottage of his friend Singore Gumms, where he was received with joy, and provided for with the utmoſt care. Every day ſome of the inhabitants came to ſee him, bringing fowls, banana-cakes, pompions, water melons, &c. He was alſo viſited by the Ro-

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miſh prieſt of the iſland; who had likewiſe been very deſirous of having him at his houſe. Mr. Roberts was no ſooner able to walk abroad, than he returned theſe viſits; and on his recovering his ſtrength, he frequently went with the natives to hunt wild goats: but oftener attended them in fiſhing, on account of its being leſs fatiguing; on which occaſion, they carried with them calabaſhes of freſh water, with a number of pompions, bananas, and other fruit for food. As to their hunting, the governor having the ſole privilege of killing the wild goats, none dare hunt without his conſent. This was a law made by the Portugueſe when they peopled theſe iſlands from the coaſt of Africa, in order to prevent the breed being entirely deſtroyed.

This is one of the principal privileges enjoyed by the governor; who is alſo the only magiſtrate, and decides the little differences that ſometimes happen among the people. Upon their not ſubmitting to his deciſion, he confines them till they do, in an open place, walled round like a pond; but inſtead of a gate, they generally lay only a ſtick acroſs the entrance, and thoſe innocent people will ſtay there without attempting to get out, except when overcome with paſſion, they ruſh out in a rage: but theſe are ſoon caught again, tied hand and foot, and a ſentinel ſet to watch them, till they agree with their antagoniſt, aſk the governor's pardon for breaking out of his priſon, and have remained there as long as he thinks they have deſerved. Nay, if one kills another, which hardly happens in an age, the governor can only confine him till he has pacified the relations of the deceaſed, by the mediation of his friends, who are bound for the criminal's appearance, in caſe a judge ſhould be ever ſent from Portugal to execute juſtice: but impriſonment here is reckoned ſuch a ſcandal, that it is as much dreaded as Tyburn is by the criminals in England.

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The natives, who are the moſt ignorant and ſuperſtitious, as well as the moſt innocent, harmleſs, and friendly of all the Cape de Verde iſlands, wear in common only a little ſlip of cotton faſtened to a ſtring before, which paſſing between the thighs, is tied to the ſame ſtring behind: but their full dreſs is alſo a piece of cotton cloth, which the men hang over their ſhoulders and wrap round their waiſts; while the women put it over their heads, and then wrap it about their bodies: and on both of them it extends to the calf of the leg or lower. This cloth they ſpin and weave themſelves.

The prieſt, who was a negroe, and very ignorant, ſays maſs, baptizes, and buries the dead; but the natives have intermixed with theſe rites ſome of their heatheniſh cuſtoms.

This iſland, which is named St. John's, is ſituated in 15° 25′ north latitude, and 7° 2′ weſt from Cape de Verde; and though very high and rocky, yet lying near St. Philips', appears in compariſon of that to be low. It has more ſalt-petre than any of the Cape de Verde iſlands; and the governor offered to procure Mr. Roberts a cargo ſufficient to load with it a larger ſloop than that he had loſt. It grows in ſeveral caves there, covering all the ſides like a hoar-froſt; and in ſome hollow rocks, like iſicles, as thick as a man's thumb. Our author gives very ſtrong reaſons to believe that this iſland alſo abounds with copper and gold; and formerly great quantities of ambergreaſe were found floating in the ſea.

Mr. Roberts endeavoured to perſuade the governor to let him repair his old boat, and to go over with it to the iſland of St. Philip; but he thinking it too ſmall and crazy, denied his requeſt: yet propoſed his building another, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in the work by the labour of all the men in the iſland, if he would make it large enough to ſail in without danger. This propoſal Mr. Roberts gladly accepted; and having ſaved a great number of nails

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and pieces of iron, while confined among the rocks, out of the pieces of the wreck brought aſhore by the natives, the boat was begun. He dreaded that he ſhould never be able to finiſh it; but having ſeen ſeveral built from firſt to laſt, his deſire to return to England made him exert all his abilities; and the work was compleated: for theſe friendly people hewed down the trees, and chopped them into boards and timbers: he afterwards caulked his little veſſel with oakum, made of ſome pieces of old ropes, and with cotton and moſs: he caſed the bottom with tallow mixed with aſhes dung burnt to aſhes; the governor generouſly ordering a general hunting-match to procure him the fat of goats, and alſo killing a cow for that purpoſe: of an old piece of canvas he made a jib-ſail. The boat was launched by the aſſiſtance of the natives; and a ſmall anchor and hawſer were got up, which had been left with a buoy in the road by a Portugueſe veſſel, before his coming to the iſland.

Every thing being thus finiſhed, he was plentifully ſupplied with beef, goats fleſh, maize flour, and fruit; and having paſſed four or five days with the governor and the inhabitants, who deſired no other reward but that he would ſpeak well of them to his countrymen, which might induce ſome Engliſh ſhips to trade with them, he took his leave: and going on board with his boy, and two negroe mariners who came to the iſland in his ſloop, and belonged to St. Nicholas, with three of the natives, he ſet ſail, leaving Mr. Franklin, the Welchman, who choſe to continue at St. John's.

The ſame evening Mr. Roberts reached St. Philip's, and landing the next morning, was treated there too with great kindneſs. Captain Thome Santee, who had the title of Procurador of St. John's, wanted to go to that iſland; and informed him, that if he would have any thing done to his boat, there were two negroes at St. Philip's, who had been educated at

at the French factory at Senegal, and taken from thence to Nants, to learn the art of ſhip-building. Theſe were ſent for; and Mr. Roberts promiſing, that if he could find no other method of returning to Europe, he would ſet them on ſhore near the place of their birth on the coaſt of Africa, they joyfully agreed to make ſome alterations, which it was thought would render the boat more commodious: and there being no timber at St. Philip's large enough for that purpoſe, they conſented to return with him to St. John's. Captain Thome alſo prevailed on a ſmith to go with them, in order to lend his aſſiſtance. Beſide theſe, Mr. Roberts took in ſome other paſſengers, who paid him ten cotton cloths for their paſſage, ſuch as they wear to cover them from head to foot; and of this cloth he made a foreſail.

The iſland of St. Philip, alſo called the iſland of Fogo, or Fire, is about ſeven leagues from St. John's; it is ſituated in 15° 20′ north latitude, and 6° 54′ weſt from Cape de Verde; and received its name from its being diſcovered by the Portugueſe on the firſt of May, the feaſt of St. Philip and James. It is much higher than any other of the Cape de Verde iſlands; and appears like a continued mountain up to the top. In ſailing by it no valleys are to be ſeen, they ſeeming only gutters made by the ſtreams of rain running down the mountain.

The peak is a terrible volcano, which caſts forth rocks of an amazing ſize to a vaſt height: theſe make ſuch a noiſe by their fall, and their breaking and rolling down, that our author has heard them in calm weather at eight or nine leagues diſtance; and when they are blown up, you may hear a report like a great gun, or rather thunder. In the night-time Mr. Roberts has ſeen the ſtones rolling down the peak all of a flame; and he was told by the inhabitants, that flaming brimſtone ſometimes pours from the peak like a torrent of water: after which they can gather what quantity they pleaſe. Some pieces of it they

ſhewed Mr. Roberts: it is like common brimſtone, but of a much brighter colour; and on being burnt, gives a clearer flame. At other times, this volcano caſts forth ſuch a quantity of aſhes mixed with cinders, that the adjacent parts are covered, and ſome of the goats ſmothered by them.

This iſland has no running brooks; and in ſome places the inhabitants are obliged to go ſix or ſeven miles for freſh water: yet notwithſtanding this, it produces great quantities of pompions, water-melons, feſhoons, and maize; but no bananas and plantains, and hardly any fruit-trees, excepting wild-figs: however, in ſome of their gardens they have guava trees, oranges, lemons and limes. They have alſo ſome good vineyards, of which a ſmall quantity of wine is made; but is generally all drank before it has done fermenting.

The iſland was originally inhabited by the Portugueſe, to whom the king gave the land. Theſe brought negroe ſlaves with them, and ſtocked the country with cows, aſſes, horſes, and hogs; the king ſending goats, which run wild on the mountains. Hence the profit of their ſkins is reſerved to the crown; and he who has the management of this revenue is called Captain of the Mountains, none daring to kill any of them without his licence. It is cuſtomary here, and at all the other iſlands, for every perſon at his death to give freedom to his blacks. Theſe are now the principal inhabitants, there being an hundred negroes on the iſland to one of the whites. They make cotton cloths for cloathing; and breed mules, which they ſell to other nations. All the inhabitants are Roman Catholics; but mingle with that religion ſome pagan ſuperſtitions. Moſt of the whites live with the governor in the town of St. Philip; and have, at the ſame time, country-houſes on that part of their eſtates which they keep in their own hands, and manage by their ſlaves. Theſe ſupply them with food;

and the rents of the plantations let to the blacks, are paid them in cotton cloth.

The day after Mr. Roberts weighed from this iſland, he landed at St. John's, to the great ſatisfaction of all the paſſengers, as well as the natives of that iſland, and eſpecially thoſe who accompanied him in the voyage: theſe did not fail to brag of it, more perhaps than an Engliſh raw ſailor would of his firſt voyage to the Eaſt Indies. Mr. Roberts met with the ſame kind behaviour from the governor and people as before; and the negroe carpenters being ſet to work, every one endeavoured to aſſiſt them.

In about two months the boat was compleated, and rendered ſtronger and more commodious than before. Captain Thome had by that time finiſhed his buſineſs there, and therefore Mr. Roberts ſet ſail with him, together with three inhabitants of St. Philip's, and the two carpenters; and having ſet them on ſhore on the laſt mentioned iſland, ſailed to St. Jago. He afterward traded for ſome time with the different iſlands, carrying proviſions to Mayo, where the people ſuffered greatly by famine, and loading there and at Bona Viſta with ſalt: till at length, being at St. Nicholas's, his boat, while he was on ſhore, was ſtaved to pieces on the rocks. He however met with a very kind treatment from the inhabitants, and ſold the pieces of the boat that were ſaved for 12 dollars.

While Mr. Roberts was there, an Engliſh veſſel arrived, commanded by Mr. Harfoot; who propoſed to trade among the iſlands for cloths, and then to proceed to Barbadoes. At that gentleman's deſire, our author conſented to aſſiſt him in this trade; and, in return, he very readily agreed to give him and his little boy, who attended him from iſland to iſland, their paſſage. Having weighed from thence, they proceeded to Bona Viſta; from thence to Mayo, and then ſteered to Porta Praya in the iſland of St. Jago, where they found an Engliſh ſhip freighted by the Portu-

Portugueſe merchants, which had come laden with ſlaves, wax, and elephants teeth from the coaſt of Guinea: ſhe had buried the greateſt part of her crew, and was bound to Liſbon. This veſſel, beſide being weakly manned, was in a very crazy condition; whence Mr. Durell, the captain, who had juſt recovered from a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, was very ſollicitous to perſuade Mr. Roberts to ſail with him, and aſſiſt him in taking care of the ſhip: and to this Mr. Roberts conſented.

[Theſe iſlands, which the Portugueſe call Ilhas Verde, and the Dutch, Salt Iſlands; lie directly oppoſite to Cape de Verde: yet ſo that the neareſt of them is ſeventy, and the moſt remote one hundred and ſixty leagues diſtant from the continent. They are in all ten; extending from the 15° to the 19° of north latitude. The Portugueſe have given them the name of Green Iſlands, either from the cape, or elſe from a certain green weed, called by them Sargaſſo, which is like our water-creſſes; of which ſuch prodigious quantities float upon the ſurface of the ſea, from the 20° to the 24°, that without a ſtrong gale, ſhips are ſometimes ſtopped in their paſſage: but what is moſt ſurpriſing is, that the ſea having no bottom here, and this herb not being ſeen in any other part of the ſea, at leaſt not within 150 leagues of the African ſhore, how ſhould this verdure come to this particular track? Some allege, that it is waſhed from the rocks in the Weſt Indies, and forced thither by the winds; but as the north-eaſt winds reign here all the year round, there is but little probability in this opinion.

When theſe iſlands were firſt diſcovered by the Portugueſe, they were without inhabitants; but now produce rice, millet, Turkey-wheat, oranges, citrons, bananas, ananas, potatoes, melons, citruls, cucumbers, figs, and raiſins, twice a year. The conſiderable quantity of ſalt theſe iſlands produce, has made the Dutch give them the name of the Salt

Iſlands. The Portugueſe have alſo taken care to ſtock theſe iſlands with all ſorts of tame and wild fowl; which are multiplied at ſuch a rate, that they may be had almoſt for nothing. Rabbits are here in vaſt numbers, and the ſea furniſhes them with incredible ſtore of fiſh; which is the reaſon you ſee here at all times a conſiderable number of Portugueſe fiſher-boats, who carry what they catch to Braſil. Theſe iſlands are extreamly commodious for ſuch ſhips as trade to the Indies; inaſmuch as going thither, they take in refreſhments, at a very eaſy rate, in the iſland of Mayo; and, in their return, at that of St. Anthony, the Portugueſe inhabitants being not in a condition to prevent it. The iſle of Jago, as it is the chief, ſo there the governor and the archbiſhop keep their ordinary reſidence: the ſpiritual juriſdiction of the laſt extends not only over theſe iſlands, but alſo over all the African coaſt, as far as it is in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe.]

This iſland of St. Jago, or St. James, which took its name from its being diſcovered on the 1ſt of May, the feſtival of that ſaint, is ſituated in 15° north latitude, and 6° 5 longitude from Cape de Verde; and was not only the firſt of theſe iſlands inhabited by the Portugueſe, but is the largeſt and moſt fruitful of them all. The inhabitants, who are about three whites to 40 blacks, pay no tax to the crown. This iſland has plenty of water, and many valleys; and as it affords good paſture, it abounds with cattle and variety of fowl. The capital of the iſland is Ribeira Grande, where the governor, Oviodore, and biſhop reſide. Moſt of the prieſts among theſe iſlands, as alſo thoſe ſent to Guinea, are negroes. There are four other towns in the iſland, which are St. Jago, St. Domingo, St. Domingo Abaceu, and Braya; this laſt is the moſt noted port in the iſland.

Bona Viſta, or Good Sight, ſo named from its being the firſt of the Cape de Verde iſlands diſcovered by the Portugueſe, is ſituated in 16° 10′ north latitude,

tude, and in 5° 14′ weſt longitude from Cape de Verde. The iſland is moſtly low land, with ſome rocky mountains and ſandy hills. It produces great quantities of indigo, and more cotton than all the Cape de Verde iſlands beſide; yet there is not one of them where there are fewer cotton cloths to be ſold: for the inhabitants will neither gather the cotton till a ſhip is arrived to buy it, nor will the women ſpin till they want it. When our author was there, moſt of the cattle had died by a famine; the natives had however tame goats, and lived on their milk: they alſo fed on fiſh and turtle. And the Engliſh, who often came there to take in a lading of ſalt, hired aſſes and men to bring down the ſalt to the ſea; for which they paid them in biſcuit, flour, or old cloaths. They uſed alſo to have a pretty good trade for horſes and aſſes; which are the beſt of all that are upon the Cape de Verde iſlands. Raw ſilk is much coveted by them, for working the boſoms of their ſhirts, ſhifts, caps, and womens waiſtcoats.

The men generally wear the European dreſs, and moſt of them have ſuits of cloaths bought of the Engliſh, and have learnt to make cotton cloths to imitate the European faſhion. The women wear one, two, or three cotton cloths wrapped about them like petticoats, and tied on with a girdle above the hips, and ſometimes without a girdle. Their ſhifts are made like a man's ſhirt, but ſo ſhort as not to reach the girdle: the wriſtbands, collar, and neck of the young people of ſome rank, are wrought in figures, with needle-work of ſilk in ſeveral colours; but the old and the poor have theirs worked with blue cotton thread. Over their ſhifts they wear a waiſtcoat, with ſleeves to button at the arms, not above four inches deep in the back part, but long enough before to tie with ſtrings under their breaſts. Over all they wear a cotton cloth in the manner of a mantle: thoſe of the married women are generally blue, and the darker the colour the richer it is reckoned; but the maidens,

and gay young wives or widows, wear blue and white, ſome ſpotted, and ſome figured. They wear neither ſhoes nor ſtockings, except on holidays; and, indeed, at other times, the women generally wear only a ſmall cotton cloth wrapped round their waiſt, and the men a ragged pair of breeches: to which, if there be but a waiſtband, and a piece hanging to it before, to hide what modeſty teaches them to conceal, they think it ſufficient The people of Bona Viſta are fond of the Engliſh, and moſt of them can ſpeak a little of the Engliſh tongue.

The iſle of Sal, which is the windermoſt of all the Cape de Verde iſlands, lies in 17° north latitude, and in 5° 18′ weſt longitude from the Cape de Verde. It is moſtly low land, having only five hills. This iſland formerly abounded with goats, cows and aſſes; but was deſerted for want of rain. There are abundance of land crabs about the iſland; and the ſea abounds with many ſorts of fiſh.

The iſle of Mayo, or May, took its name from its being diſcovered on the firſt of that month. There grows on this iſland, as well as on moſt of the others, and particularly at Bona Viſta, a kind of vegetable ſtone; which ſhoots in ſtems, and forms ſomething like the head of a colliflower: it is extreamly porous, and of a greyiſh colour. The inhabitants, who amount to about 200, are not ſo well affected to the Engliſh as thoſe of Bona Viſta; but they have more cows, and theſe are generally the beſt and fatteſt on the Cape de Verde iſlands: they have alſo moſt of them goats. They have more cotton than they can uſe; but are ſo lazy that half of it is loſt for want of gathering.

The iſland of St. Nicholas is the longeſt of all the Cape de Verde iſlands, except St. Jago, and is ſituated in 16° 45′ north latitude, and 6° 52′ weſt longitude from Cape de Verde. The iſland is moſtly high land. It is fruitful in maize; and the inhabitants have vineyards, of which they make a tartiſh

ſort

ſort of wine. There is here likewiſe a dragon-tree; from which flows gum-dragon. The natives make the beſt cloths and cotton quilts of all the iſlands: theſe are too good for the Guinea trade, but fit for that of Braſil. They make them up in cloaths as neatly as our common country taylors; and will make buttons to imitate almoſt any pattern: they knit cotton ſtockings, tan cow-hides, and goat-ſkins, and make tolerable good ſhoes. Their women are by far the moſt houſewifely and ingenious with their needles of any of the iſlands; and ſhe who does not appear with a worked cap, like thoſe worn at Bona Viſta, is thought very idle. The people ſpeak the beſt Portugueſe; and are the exacteſt Roman Catholics of any of the iſlands.

The iſle of Branca is only a high ſteep rock, where the St. Nicholas men come to catch fiſh.

St. Lucia is about three or four leagues to the weſtward of St. Nicholas: it has ſome goats and aſſes, but neither inhabitants nor water.

St. Vincent is alſo uninhabited; but on the north-weſt ſide is a good bay, called Porto Grande, where ſhips may have both wood and water, and alſo wild goats for taking the pains to ſhoot them. Here alſo are many aſſes; and as great a plenty of nitre as in the iſland of St. John. There are more turtle and fiſh caught at this iſland, than at all the other Cape de Verde iſlands.

The iſland of St. Antonio is ſituated in 17° 19′ north latitude, 8° 2′ weſt longitude from Cape de Verde. It is little inferior in height to St. Philip's; and conſidering the loftineſs of the mountains, and the lowneſs of the valleys, it contains as much ground as St. Jago. It has many brooks of freſh water, that render the valleys through which they run as fertile as any of the Cape de Verde iſlands. The mountains abound with goats; and on one of them is found a ſtone, called by the natives a topaz: but whether it be the true topaz or not, Mr. Roberts acknow-

leges himſelf not to be a judge. In this iſland are likewiſe produced great quantities of gum-dragon, and abundance of indigo; which is cultivated here with great care, as are alſo large plantations of cotton. The natives are almoſt as innocent and humane as thoſe of St. John's. There are computed to be 2500 ſouls on the iſland, four-fifths of which number are made up by the ſlaves; who, like the free negroes, have plantations, houſes and wives: and they cultivate ſome of the beſt places for cotton, indigo, &c. which are well worked up by theſe ſlaves, and managed by a ſteward placed there by a Portugueſe merchant, who is proprietor of the iſland.

It is now time to return to the voyage. Mr. Roberts ſet ſail with captain Durell; but they had hardly left St. Jago, when the leaks they had attempted to ſtop at that iſland broke out afreſh, and were continually increaſing: to add to this misfortune, the crew were a ſet of the moſt profligate fellows, that would ſcarcely ſubmit to the leaſt diſcipline, or obey any orders. Being in danger of ſinking, and the trade winds not permitting them to return to the Cape de Verde iſlands, it was at laſt reſolved to ſteer to Barbadoes, and that iſland they happily reached, entering Carliſle bay on Chriſtmas-day, 1724, where the veſſel being hove down, was ſheathed. They ſtaid about three months in that iſland, and then ſailed to Liſbon; when Mr. Roberts took the firſt opportunity of a paſſage to London, where he arrived in the latter end of June, 1725.

THE

THE VOYAGE OF PETER KOLBEN, A. M. TO THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

AS I had early felt an ardent deſire to travel, the reader may imagine that I was filled with a tranſport of joy, when I was told by my generous patron the Baron van Kroſick, privy counſellor to the late king of Pruſſia, whom I had the honour to ſerve in the quality of ſecretary, that if I approved of it, he would ſend me at his own expence to reſide at the Cape of Good Hope: in order to make proper obſervations of the appearance of the heavenly bodies on that ſouthern extremity of Africa. With the higheſt expreſſions of gratitude I accepted of this employment, and my noble patron having ſettled upon me an annual ſalary, I prepared for my voyage; and, leaving Berlin, ſet out for Amſterdam, where I embarked on board the Union, one of the Dutch Eaſt India ſhips that then lay in the Texel.

On the 8th of January 1705, the Union ſet ſail with eight more of the company's ſhips bound for the Eaſt Indies; and on the 13th of March ſteering round St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands, we had a diſtinct view of the rocks and mountains, and of the ſituation and extent of the city of the ſame name. After ſaluting the caſtle of the harbour of

Braya

Braya with 15 guns, which was returned, we were viſited by a Portugueſe gentleman, accompanied by a negro Romiſh prieſt, who had received an univerſity education at St. Jago, and had been made prieſt, the better to promote the converſion of his countrymen. They were liberally entertained; and the father, beſide other things, ate at leaſt two pounds of Dutch cheeſe, and drank an aſtoniſhing quantity of brandy; after which he ſung, danced, and performed ſo many antic tricks, as convinced us all, that though he appeared a very indifferent prieſt, he would make an excellent harlequin. At parting, the father invited ſeveral of us to take a dinner with him, and to view what he called his fine library. This invitation was accepted; and two days after we waited on him at his houſe, where he received and entertained us handſomely enough, ſhewing us his library, which conſiſted of a body of the civil law, (for he told us he was a doctor of laws) ſome Popiſh legends, and a few breviaries.

On the 18th we paid a viſit to the governor of the caſtle. He introduced us to his lady, who was with ſeveral women in her own apartment, and received us with much civility, gave us bread of Turkiſh wheat, butter and cheeſe; and we returned the kindneſs, by making her a preſent of a paper of tobacco, which ſhe and other women immediately ſmoaked in the preſence of us all.

While we ſtaid at Braya we had ſome thoughts of taking a trip to the city of St Jago; but we were perſuaded from this deſign. The ways were repreſented as ſteep and craggy, and the ground ſo hot and parched, from the ſcarcity of rain, that the ſlaves ſometimes periſhed in the way with thirſt, there being rarely any ſuch thing as water, or the leaſt kind of refreſhment to be found upon the road. In the mean time the ſhips wooded, watered, and took in freſh proviſions, together with every ſort of fruit produced at St. Jago, which were ſo incredibly cheap,

cheap, that I bought a hundred ſweet oranges for half a paper of pins; and, for the other half, five fat fowls.

On the 19th of March we ſailed from the harbour of Braya. After ſuffering ſeveral tempeſts of thunder and lightning, on the 9th of April, a large flaſh, followed by a noiſe like that of the report of a cannon, ſtartled all on board. The captain, who was at breakfaſt in the cabin, imagining that ſomebody had preſumed to diſcharge one of the great guns, run in a rage to puniſh ſuch raſhneſs, when he found his foremaſt ſhattered by thunder; but no hurt was done to any on board. When we came to conſider the riſk of the powder-room, in which we had 3000 quintals of that dangerous commodity, every man's heart ſunk within him; and, I dare ſay, felt ſome ſenſations of gratitude to the author of our preſervation.

On the 10th of June we diſcovered the Cape of Good Hope, and the next day arrived ſafe in the harbour. Being introduced to the governor, that gentleman, on ſight of my recommendatory letters, treated me in a very friendly and affable manner, and ſoon aſſigned me a commodious abode.

Notwithſtanding the Cape of Good Hope was diſcovered ſo early by the Portugueſe as the year 1493, not one of them landed till 1498, when the Portugueſe admiral Rio d'Infante went aſhore in his voyage to India; and on his return gave ſuch an account of the advantages of the place to Emanuel king of Portugal, that it was reſolved to form a ſettlement there: but this was not carried into execution. At length Franciſco d'Almadei, viceroy of Braſil, returning from thence with a fleet for Portugal, took his courſe by the Cape; and caſting anchor there, ſent a party on ſhore to traffic for cattle; but they were repulſed by the natives, and driven back to their ſhips. Upon their landing a ſecond time the natives attacked the Portugueſe with ſuch fury, that 75 of them were laid dead

dead on the ſhore, among whom was the vicèroy; and the reſt fled in confuſion to their ſhips.

The Portugueſe, mortified at this diſgrace, vowed revenge; but after ſmothering it for two or three years, a fleet for the Indies landed at the Cape; and the Portugueſe knowing what a value the natives ſet on braſs, landed a large braſs cannon loaded with ſeveral heavy balls, and to the mouth faſtened two long ropes. The Hottentots, tranſported with joy at receiving ſo large a piece of their admired metal, laid hold of the two ropes in great numbers, as they were directed, in order to drag it along: thus a great body of them extended in two files all the length of the ropes, full in the range of the ſhot, when the cannon being ſuddenly diſcharged, a terrible ſlaughter was made; and thoſe who eſcaped the ſhot, fled up into the country in the wildeſt conſternation. After this cowardly exploit, the Portugueſe re-embarked at their leiſure; and from that day to this it ſeems that the Hottentots have conſtantly dreaded both the ſight and touch of fire-arms.

It does not appear that any Europeans afterward landed at the Cape till the year 1600; when it began to be viſited by the Engliſh, French, and Dutch, in their voyages to and from the Eaſt Indies. But in 1650, a Dutch fleet anchoring before it, Mr. Van Riebeek, a ſurgeon on board, obſerving that the country was well ſtocked with cattle, the ſoil rich, the harbour commodious, and the people tractable, digeſted his obſervations; and on his return to Holland laid them before the directors of the India company; who, after a grand conſultation, reſolved to attempt a ſettlement at the Cape without loſs of time. Accordingly four ſhips were immediately ordered out on that deſign, with all the materials, inſtruments, artificers, and other hands neceſſary for ſuch an expedition. The ſurgeon Van Riebeek was appointed governor and commander in chief of the intended ſettlement,

ment, with power to treat with the Hottentots, in what manner he ſhould think fit.

With theſe four ſhips Van Riebeek arrived ſafe at the Cape, and ſo captivated the natives by his addreſs and good humour, and with the preſents he brought them of braſs toys, beads, tobacco, brandy, &c. that a treaty was inſtantly concluded; and he giving the natives toys and commodities to the value of 50,000 guilders, they granted the Dutch full liberty to ſettle there, reſigned to them a part of the country; and a trade was eſtabliſhed with them, on a good and ſolid foundation.

The ſettlement being firmly eſtabliſhed, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that being ſtill joined by other ſettlers, the Dutch in a few years extended themſelves in new colonies along the coaſt. They now form four principal ſettlements: The firſt is at the Cape, where are the grand forts, and the capital city, called alſo the Cape; in which, and its neighbourhood, are many genteel buildings, with all ſorts of accommodations: the ſecond is the Hellenbogiſh; the third, the Drakenſton; and the fourth, the Waveriſh colony. The company have likewiſe provided for a future increaſe of people, by purchaſing all the tract of land called Terra du Natal, lying between Moſambique and the Cape; for which they paid in toys, commodities, and utenſils, to the value of 30,000 guilders: ſo that the province is of great extent.

The greateſt part of the country about the Cape is full of rocks and mountains, which long after the diſcovery, being only viewed at a diſtance, were conſidered as barren: but their ſpacious tops are covered with rich meadows, every where enamelled with a variety of flowers of uncommon beauty and fragrance, and abound with delicious ſprings, running in many ſtreams into the valleys. Theſe mountains are in clear weather ſeen at ſea at the diſtance of fifteen leagues. On their ſkirts are interſperſed groves, that afford excellent wood for the joiners and turners. The

plains

plains and valleys are all delightful meadow-lands, where nature appears with ſuch a profuſion of charms as to raviſh the eye of the beholder. They every where ſmile, and are adorned with beautiful trees, plants, and flowers, that fill the air with the ſweeteſt odours: among theſe are the aloe, and other curious trees and herbs.

The ſoil is ſo rich, as to be capable of every kind of culture; it bears all ſorts of grain, and every kind of fruit-tree. The country abounds with ſalt, and hot baths of mineral waters, that have been found ſalutary in many diſeaſes. The regions about the Cape are, however, ſubject to boiſterous winds, that generally blow from the ſouth-eaſt while the ſun is in the ſouthern ſigns; and from the north-weſt, while in the northern ſigns. Theſe winds, however, though they frequently do conſiderable damage to the trees and corn, are of ſervice in purging the air, and contributing to the health of the inhabitants; who, after a calm of a week or ten days, generally complain of the headach and other diſorders, which vaniſh when they blow again.

The Cape Town, which extends from the ſea-ſhore to the valley, is large and regularly built, containing ſeveral ſpacious ſtreets with handſome houſes, which have large courts in the front, and beautiful gardens behind them. The ſtreets, the court-yards, the houſes, and every thing in them, are extreamly neat and clean. The houſes are of ſtone; but moſt of them are only one ſtory high, and none more than two, on account of the violence of the eaſterly wind; and for the ſame reaſon moſt of them are only thatched. Building at the Cape is very much encouraged by the Dutch Eaſt India company: for if any man has a mind to build a houſe, whether contiguous to the town or in the country, he has ground allotted him *gratis*, extenſive enough for a court-yard, out-houſes, garden, &c.

The

The caſtle is a very ſtrong and ſtately edifice, of a large extent, provided with all manner of accommodations for the garriſon, which conſiſts of about 200 ſoldiers. It covers the harbour, and is an excellent fortreſs. The ſuperior officers of the company have here very ſpacious and beautiful lodgings; and within are the company's ſtore-houſes, which are large, handſome, and commodious.

The church is a plain neat edifice, built of ſtone; but both the body and ſteeple are thatched. There is an hoſpital in the town for the ſick, ſituated near the company's garden, and large enough to accommodate ſeveral hundred patients. Thoſe who are able to walk about have the liberty of the company's garden, from which the hoſpital is furniſhed with roots and herbs. This garden is perhaps the moſt extraordinary in the world; it contains all the rich fruits, the beautiful flowers, and moſt of the valuable plants that are produced in Aſia, Africa, and America.

There is in the town a large building called the Lodge, for the uſe of the company's ſlaves, who are moſtly brought from Madagaſcar. It is divided into two wards, one for the lodging of each ſex, and provided with convenient ſtore-rooms, with a large room in which the ſlaves receive and eat their allowance, and a ſtrong priſon wherein the drunken and diſobedient are confined and puniſhed. It has decent apartments for the officers ſet over the ſlaves, and a ſchool for the negro children.

The company has alſo a very handſome range of ſtables, capable of containing ſeveral hundred horſes; and a great number of fine Perſian horſes are kept there, for the ſervice of the company and the uſe of the governor; who has a maſter of the horſe, an under maſter, a ſadler, coachman, and grooms. The governor's body coachman is eſteemed a conſiderable perſon.

Some authors have repreſented the Hottentots as ſo brutal, as to be in a manner incapable of reflection,

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as having no ſenſe of religion, nor any notion of order or decency, and ſcarcely poſſeſſing the leaſt glimpſe of reaſon or humanity: but this is far from being true. Many of them underſtand Dutch, French, and Portugueſe, to a degree of perfection; and one I knew, who learnt Engliſh and Portugueſe in a very ſhort time; and having conquered the habits of pronunciation contracted from his native language, was ſaid by good judges to underſtand and ſpeak them with a ſurpriſing readineſs and propriety.

They are, perhaps, the moſt faithful ſervants in the world. The Europeans at the Cape are ſo fond of them in this capacity, that they are loth to part with them. Though they are infinitely fond of wine, brandy, and tobacco, and will at any time part with the moſt valuable things they have to purchaſe them, yet they will neither diminiſh them themſelves, nor ſuffer any one elſe to diminiſh the leaſt drop or part of thoſe commodities, when they are committed to their truſt. It is ſurpriſing to ſee the care and fidelity with which they acquit themſelves on theſe occaſions. They are even employed by the Europeans in affairs that require judgment and capacity. An Hottentot, named Cloas, had ſuch integrity and diſcernment, that he was often entruſted by Mr. Vander Stel, the late governor at the Cape, with large quantities of wine, brandy, rice, and other commodities, and directed to exchange them for cattle among the Hottentot nations at a great diſtance from the Cape, attended by a guard of two armed men of the governor's own people. He executed his commiſſions with addreſs and reputation; and generally returned the governor more and finer cattle than the commodities he carried out could be judged to be worth. To theſe qualities he joined the greateſt humanity and good nature; and notwithſtanding the ignorance in which he was born, and in which, with reſpect to religion, he always lived, was a man of excellent morals, and had, perhaps, as much charity and benevolence

lence as the beſt of us all. Many an European in diſtreſs has been relieved by this generous good-natured creature, who, by means of a handſome ſtock of cattle, in which the wealth of the Hottentots chiefly conſiſts, was very able to lend them his aſſiſtance.

Notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, the Hottentots ſeem to place their whole earthly happineſs in ſloth and indolence. They can think to the purpoſe, if they pleaſe; but they hate the trouble of thought, and look upon every degree of reaſoning as a tormenting agitation of the mind: they therefore never reaſon but in caſe of neceſſity; that is, when it is requiſite to remove ſome preſſing want of their own or their friends. If the Hottentot is not rouſed by ſome preſent appetite or neceſſity, he is as deaf both to thought and action as a log; when urged by theſe, he is all activity; but when theſe are gratified, and his obligation to ſerve is at an end, he retires to enjoy again his beloved idleneſs.

Some authors have ſaid, that all the Hottentots devour the entrails of beaſts, uncleanſed of their filth and excrements, half broiled; and that whether ſound or rotten, they conſider them as the greateſt delicacies in the world: but this is not true. I always found, that when they had entrails to eat, they turned and ſtripped them of their filth, and waſhed them in clean water. They then boiled them in the blood of the beaſt, if they had any; if not, they gave them a thorough broiling. This, however, is done in ſo naſty a manner as to make an European loath their victuals. But, uncleanly as their manner of dreſſing their proviſions is, thoſe who keep to the diet of their country have few diſeaſes, are ſeldom ſick, and live to an extreme old age. But thoſe who drink wine, brandy, or other ſtrong liquors, ſuffer diſeaſes before unknown to them, and ſhorten their days: even the meat dreſſed and ſeaſoned after the European manner is very pernicious with reſpect to them.

What chiefly renders the Hottentots a naſty generation, is a cuſtom obſerved from their infancy of beſmearing their bodies and apparel, which is only a ſkin thrown over their ſhoulders, and another round their waiſt, with mutton, fat, marrow, or butter, mixed with the ſoot that gathers round their boiling pots, in order to make them look black, they being naturally of a nut or olive colour. This cuſtom is repeated as often as the greaſe is dried up by the ſun or duſt, if they are able to get either fat or butter. The meaner ſort are moſtly obliged to make uſe of that which is rank; but the more wealthy always beſmear themſelves with the freſheſt and choiceſt that can be had. No part of the body from the crown of the head to the ſole of the foot eſcapes this paint; their ſkins are thoroughly daubed with it. The richer they are, the more fat and butter they employ; for this is the grand diſtinction between the rich and poor; but they abominate the fat of fiſh.

This rubbing and greaſing promotes the ſuppleneſs and activity of the body; and the Hottentots, though a lazy race, are, perhaps, the ſwifteſt of foot in the world: for they not only dart away from the ſwifteſt European, but frequently out-run a very fleet horſe. Beſide, living almoſt naked in a region where the ſun's heat is very great all the year round, by cloſing their pores with greaſe, they prevent that exceſſive perſpiration which would, in all probability, exhauſt and deſtroy them.

What renders them moſt diſagreeable is their ſuffering their woolly hair to be matted together with fat and dirt, their offenſive ſmell ariſing from theſe uncleanly cuſtoms, and their abominable louſineſs. Add to this, their language is a compoſition of the ſtrangeſt ſounds that ever were uttered by any people; and their pronunciation depends upon ſuch colliſions of the tongue againſt the palate, and upon ſuch ſtrange vibrations and inflections of that member, as a

ſtranger

ſtranger cannot eaſily imitate, and neither they themſelves, nor hardly any one elſe can deſcribe.

Theſe people are, however, neither ſo ſmall of ſtature, nor ſo deformed and wrinkled as they have been deſcribed by ſome authors: for moſt of the men are from five to ſix feet high; but the women are a great deal leſs. Both ſexes are very erect and well made, keeping a due medium between being fat and lean. There is not a crooked limb, or other piece of deformity, to be ſeen among them, which is the more remarkable, as they do not take near ſo much care of their children as the European women. Their heads being generally large, their eyes are ſo in proportion. Their general mien is ſo far from being wild and terrible, that it is ſweet and compoſed, and declarative of the higheſt benevolence and good nature. The worſt features they have is their large flat noſes, and their thick lips, eſpecially the uppermoſt; but the flatneſs of their noſes is not natural, but cauſed by art. Their teeth are as white as ivory, and their cheeks have ſomething of the cherry; but from their continual dawbings, it is not eaſily diſcerned. The men have large broad feet; but thoſe of the women are ſmall and tender. Neither the men nor the women cut the nails of their fingers or toes. But what is very extraordinary, all the Hottentot women are diſtinguiſhed by having a broad callous kind of flap growing to their bellies, which ſeems intended by nature to hide what other nations are taught moſt carefully to conceal; and ſome of them have it ſo large, that it can hardly be covered by the piece of ſheep-ſkin they wear before them; it being often ſeen below it. This no Hottentot conſiders as a deformity; but through their naſtineſs and daubings, it is always in ſuch a condition, as to make an European loath the ſight of it: yet for a little tobacco they will ſuffer you to handle and examine it.

In hot weather the men conſtantly go without any other covering on their heads, than the compoſition

of fat, ſoot, and dirt, with which their hair is matted together; for they ſay, that the fat keeps their heads cool under the fierceſt ſun-beams; but in the cold ſeaſons, and in wet weather, they wear caps made of cat or lamb ſkins, which they tie on with two ſtrings; but the face and fore-part of the neck of the men are always uncovered. About the man's neck hangs a little greaſy bag, in which he carries his pipe and tobacco, with a little piece of wood of a finger's length, burnt at both ends, as an amulet againſt witchcraft.

Their Kroſſes, as they term them, or the mantles they hang over their ſhoulders, are worn open or cloſed according to the ſeaſon. The kroſſes of the moſt wealthy are of tyger or wild cat-ſkins; and thoſe of the common people of ſheep-ſkins: in winter they turn the hairy ſide inwards, and in ſummer turn it outward. They lie upon them in the night; and when they die, they are tied up and interred in them.

Three rings of ivory they generally wear upon the left arm; theſe they form from the elephants teeth they find in the woods, which they cut into rings, and finiſh with ſuch art and exactneſs as would ſurpriſe the ableſt turner in Europe. Theſe rings, or bracelets, ſerve as guards when they fight againſt an enemy; and when they travel, they faſten a bag to them for the conveyance of their *viaticum*, which they fix ſo cleverly, that it is hardly any incumbrance. Round their waiſts hang what they call a kuil croſs, a ſquare piece of the ſkin of a wild beaſt, generally of wild cat, tied on with the hairy ſide outward. When they drive their herds to paſture, they put on a kind of leather ſtockings to ſecure their legs from being ſcratched by briers and thorns. When they are to paſs over rocks and ſands, they put on a kind of ſandals, cut out of the raw hide of an ox or elephant, each conſiſting of only one piece, turning up about half an inch quite round the foot with the hairy ſide outward, and faſtened on with ſtrings.

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The women wear caps all the year round, made of the ſkins of wild beaſts, that point up ſpirally from the crown of the head. They generally wear two kroſſes round their ſhoulders; which, like thoſe of the men, cover their backs, and ſometimes reach down to their hams. Between theſe kroſſes they faſten a ſucking child, if they have one, with the head juſt peeping over their ſhoulders. The under kroſſe ſerves to prevent their bodies being hurt by the children at their backs. About their neck is tied a ſtring to which is faſtened a leather bag, which they conſtantly wear from morning till night, both at home and abroad; it contains ſome kind of food, a pipe, tobacco, &c. The girls, from their infancy to twelve years of age, wear bulruſhes tied in rings round their legs from their knees down to their ancles. Theſe bulruſh rings are then laid aſide, and their place is ſupplied with rings of the thickneſs of a little finger, made of ſlips of ſheep or calf-ſkins, from which the hair is ſinged; for the Hottentot ſheep have nothing like wool. Some of the women have above an hundred of theſe rings upon each leg, ſo curiouſly joined, and ſo nicely fitted to the leg, and to each other, that they ſeem like curious pieces of turnery. They are ſmooth and as hard as wood, and make a clattering noiſe in dancing. Theſe rings are kept from ſlipping over their heels by wrappers of leather or ruſhes about their ancles: and as the women are obliged every day to walk through buſhes and brambles to gather roots and other things for food, they preſerve their legs from being torn by the thorns and briers. Theſe rings are one great diſtinction of their ſex, and are conſidered as very ornamental; for the more rings they wear, the finer they are reckoned: but this is not all, they are proviſions againſt an hour of hunger and great ſcarcity; for when that arrives, they pull them off and eat them.

But the principal part of the finery of both ſexes among the Hottentots, are braſs buttons, and plates

of the ſame, which they buy of the Dutch, and then poliſh to an amazing luſtre: theſe dangle in the mens hair. They are alſo extremely fond of bits of looking-glaſs, which they likewiſe fix in their hair, and conſider as very ſplendid ornaments. Diamonds are not more admired in Europe, than theſe trinkets in the Hottentot nations. They wear ſmall ear-rings made of braſs wire, which they always poliſh very neatly: and to theſe rings the moſt wealthy and eminent hang bits of mother of pearl, to which they have the art of giving a curious ſhape and poliſh. Theſe are advantages in point of ornament, of which they are extremely proud; for they imagine they draw upon them the admiration of all who behold them.

To their commerce with the Europeans they owe likewiſe ſeveral other ornaments for the body, as braſs and glaſs beads, of which they are extravagantly fond. Hardly a Hottentot of either ſex can be met with, who is not adorned with ſome of them. But the preference is univerſally given to beads of braſs, becauſe they are not ſo liable to break as thoſe of glaſs. They wear them in necklaces, bracelets, and girdles; of which every one has more or leſs according to his ability. They chuſe the ſmalleſt beads they can meet with for the neck and arms. The large ones they wear about their waiſts. Some wear half a dozen necklaces together, and others more, ſo large, that they fall very gracefully to their navels. They likewiſe cover their arms with bracelets from their elbows to their wriſts; and wear half a dozen or more ſtrings of beads about their waiſts, which are the largeſt they can get, and ſtained of various colours. For theſe ornaments the Hottentots part with their cattle very freely. If they ſerve the Europeans, they always ſtipulate for ſome ear-rings, if they are not already provided; and whenever one of them ſerves an European, though it be but for a week or a day, he hardly ever fails in the bargain to article for beads.

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It is an invariable cuſtom among the men to wear the bladders of the wild beaſts they have ſlain, blown up and faſtened to their hair, where they hang as honourable trophies of their proweſs.

But with all this finery the men do not reckon themſelves compleatly dreſſed, unleſs their hair be alſo laviſhly powdered with a pulveriſed herb called Buchu; and this being done, they are beaus and grandees, and appear in their utmoſt magnificence. As the hair of the women is conſtantly hid under their caps, they lay this powder as thick as they can upon their foreheads, where being rubbed into the greaſe, it ſticks very firmly. The women alſo paint their faces with a red earth, with which they make a ſpot over each eye, one upon the noſe, one upon each cheek, and one upon the chin. Theſe red ſpots they conſider as ſtriking beauties; and therefore this is their conſtant practice, when they are called to mirthful aſſemblies, or intend to make a conqueſt: but whatever the Hottentot men may think of women thus painted, they appear frightful to an European.

Each of the Hottentot tribes or nations, has a chief, whoſe office is to command the army, and without whoſe conſent they neither make peace nor war. His office is hereditary; but he is not permitted to enter upon it, till he has ſolemnly engaged in a national aſſembly not to attempt the ſubverſion of the old form of government. He was anciently diſtinguiſhed only by the beauty of the ſkins of which his kroſſes were compoſed: but the Dutch, ſoon after their eſtabliſhment at the Cape, made a preſent of a braſs crown to the chief of every nation in alliance with them, which they wear upon ſolemn occaſions. However, in time of peace, the chief has little elſe to do but to govern the kraal or village where he reſides.

The captain of a kraal preſerves the peace, and adminiſters juſtice; and from his ſentence there lies no appeal. But ſtate criminals are tried by a chief aſſiſted by the captains of kraals. In time of war he

has, under the chief of the nation, the command of the troops furniſhed by his kraal. His office is alſo hereditary, though he cannot execute it till he has ſolemnly engaged before the people not to alter or deviate from the antient laws and cuſtoms of the kraal. Theſe kraal captains were likewiſe antiently diſtinguiſhed only by the fineneſs of the ſkins they wore, which were thoſe of tygers or of wild cats: but all of them have now a cane with a braſs head, given them by the Dutch, which deſcends along with the office. But neither the chiefs of the nations, nor theſe captains, have any revenue or any perquiſite attending the execution of their office.

Whenever a diſpute about property ariſes, the captain ſummons all the men of the kraal into the open field, who ſquat down in a circle. The plaintiff and defendant plead their own cauſes; and the witneſſes on both ſides are heard. The depoſitions being finiſhed, the captain, after ſome debate, collects the voices, and immediately pronounces the decree according to the majority; when full and quiet poſſeſſion is inſtantly ſecured to the party in whoſe favour the decree paſſes.

The criminal matters which employ the kraal courts are murder, adultery, and robbery: for adultery is puniſhed with death. When a Hottentot is known or ſuſpected to have committed any of theſe crimes, notice is given to all the men of the kraal to which he belongs; who, conſidering themſelves as officers of juſtice, look out ſharply in order to ſeize the ſuſpected party; and it is in vain for him to think of finding ſanctuary in any other Hottentot nation; for he would be taken up as a fugitive or a ſpy. The criminal being apprehended, he is ſecured till the men of the kraal can aſſemble, which is done the very day he is brought back to the kraal. The court ſitting ſquat upon their hams in a circle, the priſoner is placed in the middle; becauſe the Hottentots ſay, that in an affair in which a man's life is at ſtake, he ought

bught to have the beſt ſituation for hearing and being heard. The priſoner being in this place, the charge againſt him is pronounced by the proſecutor; and the proſecutor's witneſſes give their evidence. Next the priſoner makes his defence, calling his own witneſſes, who are heard with the greateſt indulgence. Then the captain, after ſome debates on the evidence, collects the voices; a majority of which acquits or condemns him. If he is acquitted, the court aſſigns him damages out of the proſecutor's cattle. If he is convicted and judged worthy of death, ſentence is immediately pronounced. The court riſes, while the priſoner ſtirs not a limb: for a minute or two all is ſilent; when ſuddenly the captain flies at the priſoner, and with one blow on the head with his kirri lays him ſprawling on the ground. This is followed by all the reſt, who ruſh forward, and ſtriking him with all their might, he in a moment expires. They then, bending the corpſe neck and heels, wrap it up in his kroſſe, and bury it with every thing they find about it; except his ear-rings, and other ornaments of copper or braſs, which are given to his family or his heir, who ſuffers nothing either in name, privilege, or property. His family, relations, and friends are treated with the ſame reſpect as before; and every thing proceeds as if no ſuch misfortune had happened.

All the riches of the Hottentots deſcend to the eldeſt ſon; or, when a ſon is wanting, to the next male relation: and the younger ſons of an Hottentot, who are at home and unprovided for at the death of their father, are at the courteſy of the eldeſt, both with reſpect to their fortune and their liberty. Marriage with firſt and ſecond couſins is forbidden; and puniſhed by being cudgelled to death: but yet a Hottentot may have as many wives as he can maintain, though the richeſt ſeldom exceed three. A man may be divorced from his wife, and a woman from her huſband, upon ſhewing ſuch cauſe as ſhall

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be ſatisfactory to the men of the kraal. But one of the moſt extraordinary of their laws is, that a widow, for every huſband ſhe marries after the firſt, is obliged to cut off a joint of a finger; which ſhe preſents to her huſband on the wedding-day, beginning at one of the little fingers.

The Hottentots have no lawyers; and the only public officers, beſide thoſe already mentioned, are the phyſician and the prieſt. In every kraal there is a phyſician, and the large ones have two; who have ſome ſkill in botany, ſurgery, and medicine. They are choſen out of the ſages of each kraal, and appointed to watch over the health of the inhabitants. This they perform without fee or reward; the honour of the employment being judged a ſufficient recompence for their trouble. They ſuffer none to ſee them gather and prepare their remedies; for all their preparations are kept a profound ſecret: and if a patient dies under their hands, they conſtantly aſſert that all their medicines were rendered ineffectual by witchcrafts.

The prieſt is, at the Cape, inferior to the phyſician. His office is alſo elective; but he is neither to pray for the people, nor to inſtruct them in religious matters. He preſides at their offerings, and has the ordering of all ceremonies.

As the chief of a Hottentot nation preſides over the captains of the kraals, ſo the Hottentots call the Supreme Being the Great or Supreme Captain; whom they believe to be the Creator of all things, and the Governor of the world: and that he is endowed with unſearchable perfections. They commonly call him Gounja Gounja, or Gounja Tiquoa, the God of all gods; and ſay that he is a good man, who does nobody any hurt; and that he dwells far above the moon: but it does not appear that they addreſs any act of devotion immediately to the Supreme God. Their adorations are paid to what they call inferior deities, dependent upon him: for the moſt ſenſible

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of them, when they are in the humour to anſwer the queſtions aſked them on this ſubject, ſay, Their firſt parents ſo grievouſly offended the God of gods, that he curſed them with hardneſs of heart; therefore they know little of him, and have ſtill leſs inclinations to ſerve him.

The moon with them is an inferior viſible god. They call this planet Gounja, or God; and ſay that he is the ſubject and repreſentative of the High and Inviſible. They aſſemble for the celebration of its worſhip at the change and full, and no inclemency of the weather prevents them: they then throw their bodies into a thouſand different poſtures, ſcream, proſtrate themſelves on the ground; ſuddenly jump, ſtamp like mad creatures, and cry aloud, "I ſalute thee; thou art welcome: grant us fodder for our cattle, and milk in abundance." Theſe and other addreſſes to the moon they repeat over and over, ſinging "Ho, ho ho," many times over, with a variation of notes, accompanied with clapping of hands. Thus they ſpend the whole night in worſhipping this planet, which they conſider as the diſtributer of the weather.

They likewiſe adore as a benign deity a certain inſect, ſaid to be peculiar to the Hottentot countries. It is of the ſize of a child's little finger; the back is green, and the belly ſpeckled with red and white: it has two wings, and on its head are two horns. Whenever this inſect appears in ſight, they pay it the higheſt tokens of veneration; and if it honours a kraal with a viſit, the inhabitants aſſemble about it with tranſports of devotion. They ſing and dance round it, troop after troop, in the higheſt raptures, throwing to it the powder of buchu, with which they cover the area of the kraal, and the tops of the cots. They likewiſe kill two fat ſheep as a thank-offering for this high honour; and fancy all their paſt offences are buried in oblivion. If this inſect happens to alight upon a Hottentot, he is looked upon as a man with-

without guilt, and ever after revered as a ſaint. The fatteſt ox is immediately killed for a thank-offering, and is eaten in honour of the deity and the ſaint; who feaſts alone on the entrails, which are boiled, while the men devour the meat dreſſed the ſame way, and the women are regaled with the broth. He is obliged to be very careful of the fat, and to anoint his body and apparel with that alone, while any of it remains. But the moſt extraordinary part of the ceremony is, that the caul, well powdered with buchu, and twiſted like a rope, is put in the manner of a collar about his neck; and he is obliged to wear it day and night till it rots off, or till the inſect, at another viſit, lights upon another inhabitant of the kraal; when he is at liberty to remove it. The caſe is the ſame if the inſect ſettles upon a woman: ſhe commences a ſaint with the ſame ceremonies: only here the women feaſt upon the meat, while the men are regaled with the broth.

The Hottentots will run every hazard to procure the ſafety of this animal. A German, who had a country ſeat about ſix miles from the fort, having given leave to ſome Hottentots to turn their cattle for a while upon his land there, they removed to the place with their kraal. A ſon of this German was amuſing himſelf in this kraal, when the deified inſect appeared. The Hottentots flew tumultuouſly to adore it, while the young gentleman ran to catch it, in order to ſee the effects ſuch a capture would produce. He ſeized it in the midſt of them: but how great was the general cry and agony when they ſaw it in his hand! They ſtared at him, and at each other, with looks of diſtraction. "See, ſee, ſee! cried "they: what is he going to do to it? will he kill "it? will he kill it?" Mean while every limb ſhook with fear. He aſked them why they were in ſuch agonies for that paltry inſect? "Ah! Sir, (they "replied, with the utmoſt concern) 'tis a divinity. "'Tis come from heaven: 'tis come on a good de-

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ſign. Ah! do not hurt it: do not offend it. We "ſhall be the moſt miſerable wretches upon earth if "you do. This ground will lie under a curſe, and "the crime will never be forgiven." He appeared unmoved by their petitions; but ſeemed as if he intended to maim or deſtroy it. On which they ſtarted, and ran about like people frantic; aſking where was his conſcience? and how he dared to think of perpetrating a crime that would bring upon his head all the curſes and thunders of heaven? But this not prevailing they all fell proſtrate on the ground; and, with ſtreaming eyes and the loudeſt cries, beſought him to ſpare the creature, and give it liberty. The young man now yielded, and let the inſect fly; on which they capered and ſhouted in a tranſport of joy: and running after it, rendered it the cuſtomary honours.

They alſo pay a religious veneration to their deceaſed ſaints and men of renown; whom they honour, not with tombs, ſtatues or inſcriptions, but conſecrated woods, mountains, fields and rivers, to their memory.

The Hottentots likewiſe worſhip an evil deity; whom they conſider as the father of miſchief, and the ſource of all their afflictions. They call him Touquoa; and ſay, he is a little crabbed inferior captain, whoſe malice will ſeldom let him reſt: and therefore they worſhip him in order to avert it, and wheedle him by the offering of an ox or a ſheep.

It is alſo their belief that the ſoul ſurvives the body; and therefore, upon the death of any man, woman or child, they remove their kraals to a new ſettlement; from the opinion, that the dead never haunt any place but that in which they died, unleſs any thing that belongs to them is carried out of it: and then they apprehend the departed ſpirits will follow a kraal, and be very troubleſome. They therefore leave the huts they died in, ſtanding; and in them all the utenſils belonging to the deceaſed.

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This is the abſurd ſyſtem of the Hottentot religion; of which thoſe people are ſo fond, that I never heard of one of them dying a Chriſtian: though the Dutch have ſent miſſionaries who have undergone numberleſs fatigues, and taken the greateſt pains to make proſelytes. Of this the following incident may ſerve for a proof. Mr. Vander Stel, governor of the Cape, took an infant Hottentot, whom he educated after the genteel manners of the Europeans, allowing him little or no converſation or intercourſe with the Hottentots. He became well verſed in the myſteries of religion, and in ſeveral languages; he was always richly dreſſed, and his manners were formed after the beſt European models at the Cape. The governor ſeeing him thus qualified, entertained great hopes of him; and ſent him with a commiſſary-general to the Indies, where he remained employed in the commiſſary's affairs, till the death of that gentleman, when he returned to the Cape. A few days after, at a viſit among his relations, he ſtripped himſelf of his European apparel, and equipped himſelf in the manner of his country, in a ſheep-ſkin. This done, he packed up his caſt-off cloaths, ran with them to the governor's; and preſenting himſelf before his patron, laid the bundle at his feet, and addreſſed his excellency to the following purpoſe: "Be "pleaſed, Sir, to take notice, that I for ever re- "nounce this apparel. I likewiſe for ever renounce "the Chriſtian religion. It is my deſign to live and "die in the religion, manners, and cuſtoms of my "anceſtors. I ſhall only beg you will grant me (and "I am perſuaded you will grant me) the collar and "hanger I wear. I will keep them for your ſake." Here he ſtopped, and turning his back, fled ſwiftly away, and was never more ſeen in that quarter. This man I frequently converſed with up in the country; and found, to my great amazement, that he had a ſurpriſing ſtock of Chriſtian knowledge. But though

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I made uſe of the moſt perſuaſive and endearing language, to call him back into the fold of Chriſt, he continued deaf to all my reaſoning and remonſtrances.

We ſhall now take a view of thoſe ceremonies that are generally conſidered as of a religious nature; and begin with the marriages of the Hottentots. If a batchelor or a widower has a mind to marry, he diſcovers his views to his father; and if he is dead, to the next in authority of kindred; who, if he conſents, attends him to the woman's relations, whom they regale with a pipe or two of tobacco, or of dachu, which they all ſmoke. The father of the lover then opens the buſineſs to the woman's father; who, having heard it, generally retires to conſult his wife, and ſoon returns with a final anſwer, which is generally favourable. If the lover's father receives a denial, which rarely happens, nothing more is ſaid about it; and the lover at once tears his choice from his heart, and looks out for another. If it be complied with, the lover chuſes two or three fat oxen from his own herd, or his father's, and drives them to the houſe from whence he is to take his deſtined bride, accompanied by all his relations of both ſexes who live near him. They are received with careſſes by the woman's kindred: the oxen are immediately ſlain, and the whole company beſmear their bodies with the fat, and then powder themſelves all over with buchu; while the women ſpot their faces, as already deſcribed, with a kind of red chalk. The men then ſquat on the ground in a circle, the bridegroom ſquatting in the center: the women at ſome diſtance alſo ſquat in a circle about the bride. At length the prieſt, who lives at the bride's kraal, enters the circle of the men; and coming up to the bridegroom, piſſes a little upon him. The bridegroom receiving the ſtream with eagerneſs, rubs it all over his body; and makes furrows with his long nails, that the urine may penetrate the farther. The prieſt then goes to the other circle, and evacuates a little upon

upon the bride, who rubs it in with the ſame eagerneſs as the bridegroom. To him the prieſt then returns, and having ſtreamed a little more, goes again to the bride, and again ſcatters his water upon her. Thus he proceeds from one to the other till he has exhauſted his whole ſtock, uttering from time to time to each of them the following wiſhes, till he has pronounced the whole upon both: "May you "live long and happily together. May you have a "ſon before the end of the year. May this ſon live "to be a comfort to you in your old age. May this "ſon prove a man of courage, and a good huntſ-"man."

The nuptial ceremony being thus over, the oxen are cut into many pieces, and the whole dreſſed; ſome pieces being boiled, and the reſt roaſted. The men and women ſit in different circles: The bridegroom alone eating in company of the women. They are all ſo naſty as to uſe the lappets of their greaſy mantles for plates; but their ſpoons are ſea-ſhells. Dinner being over, what is left is ſet by, and they go to ſmoking; each company having one tobacco-pipe. The perſon who fills it, after taking two or three whiffs, gives it to his or her neighbour; and thus it goes round. The beſt part of the night is ſpent in ſmoking and merriment, till the bridegroom retires to the arms of his bride, and the company ſeparate. The next day they again aſſemble, and feaſt and ſmoke as before: and this is continued every day, till the proviſions dreſſed on the day of marriage are conſumed. Upon theſe occaſions they have neither muſic nor dancing; and they have only their ordinary drink, which is milk and water.

A Hottentot never has a hut of his own till after his marriage, and then his wife aſſiſts him, not only in erecting it, but in getting the materials, which are all new, and in providing the furniture. This being done, he abandons to her the care and toil of ſeeking and dreſſing the family proviſions, except when

he

he goes a hunting or fiſhing: ſhe alſo bears a part in attending the cattle.

At the birth of a child the parents have a ſolemn feaſt by way of thankſgiving, of which all the inhabitants of the kraal partake. But upon the birth of the firſt ſon, the rejoicings are far ſuperior to thoſe attending any other birth. The parents ſlay cattle very liberally for the entertainment of the whole kraal; and every one, on ſuch an occaſion, is particularly zealous to congratulate them on the obtaining an heir. If at any time a woman has twins, and they are both boys, they kill two fat bullocks, and all their neighbours, men, women, and children, rejoice at their birth as a great bleſſing. The mother only is excluded from the entertainment; and has only ſome fat ſent her, to anoint herſelf and her infants. However, if the twins are girls, there is little or no rejoicing; and all the ſacrifice they make, is at moſt a couple of ſheep. On theſe occaſions they often give the lie to theſe thankſgivings by a cruel cuſtom, practiſed indeed by other nations, but contrary to every ſentiment of reaſon and humanity. If the parents are poor, or the mother pretends that ſhe has not milk for both the twin girls, the worſt featured of the two is buried alive at a diſtance from the kraal; caſt among the buſhes, or tied on its back to an under bough of a tree, where it is left to ſtarve, or to be devoured by the birds or beaſts of prey.

An expoſed female infant is ſometimes found by an European: when, if it be dead, he generally ſtays to bury it; but if it be alive, he always takes it home; and if he is not willing to breed it up, he eaſily finds thoſe who are. Theſe children receive a good education; and great care is taken to inſtruct them thoroughly in the knowlege of Chriſtianity, and to ſecure them from falling off to the Hottentot naſtineſs and idolatries: but theſe generous labours have never produced any laſting effect. Not once has it appeared that a Hottentot mind is to be deprived of

its native biaſs: for theſe unhappy females no ſooner come to years of maturity, than flying to their own people, they conſtantly renounce the Chriſtian religion, with the European manners and apparel; embrace the religion and cuſtoms of their anceſtors, and remain with the Hottentots ever after.

At eight or nine years of age, the young Hottentot is, with great ceremony, deprived of his left teſticle: but the poverty of the parent ſometimes occaſions its being deferred till the youth is eighteen years of age; this cruel ceremony being attended with ſome expence. This is ſuppoſed to contribute to the agility of the Hottentots: they have alſo a prevailing opinion, that a man with two teſticles conſtantly begets two children; and was a young man to try the experiment, both he and the woman would lie at the mercy of the rulers, and the woman would, for ſo great a crime, be perhaps torn to pieces by her own ſex.

This is one act of legitimation for the marriage of the males; but it is not the only one. Till they are about eighteen years of age they are confined to the tuition of their mothers, and live and ramble about with them: there is therefore a ſecond act of legitimation by which they are made men: when the father, or the generality of the men in the kraal, reſolve to call a young man into their ſociety, all the inhabitants aſſemble in the middle of a kraal, and ſit upon the ground in a circle: the young fellow to be admitted, being without the circle, is ordered to ſquat down upon his hams; and then the oldeſt man of the kraal riſes, and aſks, Whether the youth without ſhall be admitted into their ſociety, and made a man? To this all anſwering, Yes, yes, he leaves the circle, and ſtepping up to the youth, informs him, That the men having thought him worthy of being admitted into their ſociety, he is now to take an eternal farewel of his mother, the nurſery, and all his puerile employments: that if he is but once ſeen talk-

ing to his mother, and does not always carefully avoid her company, he will be conſidered as a child, and unworthy of the converſation of the men, from which he will be baniſhed: that all his thoughts, words and actions muſt now be manly. This he repeats till he judges that he has fixed theſe admonitions on his mind. The youth having before well daubed himſelf with fat and ſoot, the old man evacuates a ſmoaking ſtream of urine all over him, having before reſerved his water for that purpoſe. The youth receives the ſtream with eagerneſs and joy; and making furrows with his long nails in the fat upon his body, rubs in the briny fluid with the quickeſt action. The old man having given him the laſt drop, utters aloud the following benediction: "Good fortune attend thee. Live to old age. Increaſe and multiply. May thy beard grow ſoon." The youth is then ſolemnly proclaimed a man; and all the men feaſt upon a ſheep, part roaſted, and part boiled.

If after this the young man is ſeen eating and drinking with the women, he is treated with the utmoſt contempt: he becomes the jeſt and deriſion of the whole kraal, and is excluded from the converſation of the men, till the ceremony is performed over again.

A Hottentot, thus freed from the care of his mother, may be ſo brutiſh and unnatural as to cudgel her, merely to ſhew his independence; and it is common for a young fellow, on his being admitted into the ſociety of the men, to go and abuſe his mother, as a teſtimony of the ſincerity of his intentions to follow the admonitions given him.

We have already obſerved, that ſome of the Hottentots have a kind of honourable diſtinction in wearing bladders tied to their hair, as trophies of their valour. Theſe are thoſe, who having ſingly encountered and ſlain a lion, tyger, leopard, elephant, rhinoceros or elk, are conſidered as heroes. Such a perſon, on his return home, ſquats down; but is ſoon

viſited by an old man deputed by the reſt of the kraal, to thank and congratulate him upon ſo beneficial an exploit: and to acquaint him, that the men of the kraal expect him immediately to receive from them the honours that are his due. The heroe inſtantly riſes, and attends the meſſenger to the middle of the kraal, where all the men wait for him; and ſquatting down on the mat ſpread for him, all the men ſquat round him, while the heroe's face is fluſhed with joy. The deputy then marches up to the heroe, and pours a plentiful ſtream all over him from head to foot; pronouncing over him certain terms, which I could never get explained. The heroe, as in other caſes, rubs in the ſmoaking ſtream upon his face and every other part, with the greateſt eagerneſs. This done, the deputy lights his pipe, and having taken two or three whiffs, gives it to whomever he pleaſes in the circle; who having taken the ſame ſolace, gives it to another: and thus it goes round till only the aſhes remain, which the deputy ſhakes upon the heroe, who rubs them into the fat on his body with an eager motion, as if he would not loſe one particle of it. The circle then riſes, he does ſo too; and every one congratulates him on the high honour he has received, and thanks him for the ſervice he has done his country. The heroe now conſiders himſelf as raiſed to the higheſt ſummit of human glory; and by the bladder of the beaſt he has killed, which he wears faſtened to his hair, and the majeſtic port he ever after aſſumes, demands the homage and reſpect which Hottentot cuſtom aſſigns to his dignity.

The death of no wild beaſt gives ſuch joy to a kraal, as that of a tyger. The Hottentots are infinitely fond of the fleſh; which, indeed, I found to be moſt delicious food, and much ſuperior to the fineſt veal.

I now come to the laſt ceremonies that have a reference to a private perſon: thoſe that attend and ſucceed his departure out of life. A Hottentot man, woman

woman or child, being in the agony of death, the friends and relations aſſemble and ſet up a terrible howling: but the breath is no ſooner out of the body, than they join in ſo dreadful a chorus of ſcreaming, howling, yelling, roaring, and clapping of hands, that it is impoſſible for an European to ſtay in the kraal with ſafety to his brains. The corpſe is inſtantly wrapt up neck and heels together, much in the poſture of a child in the womb, in the kroſſe of the deceaſed, ſo cloſe, that not the leaſt part of it is to be ſeen. The grave is almoſt always either a clift in a rock, or a hole made by a wild beaſt; for the Hottentots never dig one when either of theſe is to be found at a convenient diſtance. About ſix hours after the death, the burial is performed. When the corpſe is ready to be brought out, all the men and women of the kraal, but ſuch as are employed about the corpſe, aſſemble before the door of the hut; and ſquatting in two circles, the men in one, and the women in another, they clap their hands, crying in doleful accents, "Bo, bo, bo, or father, father, "father." The covering being removed, the corpſe is brought out from the back part of the hut; for it muſt not be taken out at the door. The bearers are named by the captain of the kraal, or by the relations of the deceaſed; and they carry the body in their arms. When it is brought out, the circles before the door riſe and follow it to the grave, the men and women in ſeparate bodies, all the way wringing their hands; howling out, "Bo, bo, bo," and putting themſelves in ſuch ridiculous poſtures, that it is difficult for an European to be preſent and forbear laughing. Having put the corpſe into the hole, they fill it up with the mould of ant-hills, that it may be the ſooner conſumed; and cram ſtones and pieces of wood into the grave to prevent its being devoured by wild beaſts. This being done, they return to the kraal, ſquat again in two circles before the door, and for about an hour longer continue their lamentations,

till the word being given for ſilence; two old men, the friends or relations of the deceaſed, enter into each circle, and ſparingly diſpenſe their ſtreams upon each perſon, ſo that all may have ſome: all the company receive their water with eagerneſs and veneration. This being done, each ſteps into the hut; and taking up a handful of aſhes from the hearth, comes out by the paſſage made by the corpſe, and ſtrews the aſhes by little and little upon the whole company. This, ſay they, is done to humble their pride; to baniſh all notions of diſtinction; and to ſhew them, that old and young, rich and poor, the weak and ſtrong, the beautiful and the ugly, will all be alike, and reduced to duſt and aſhes. If the deceaſed has left any cattle, the heir now kills a ſheep; and ſome of his neareſt relations, if they are able, do the ſame, for the entertainment of the kraal. The caul of the ſheep killed by the heir is well powdered with buchu, and put about his neck; and he is obliged to wear it till it rots off. The other relations wear likewiſe about their necks the cauls of the ſheep they kill on this occaſion. Theſe cauls are the mourning the rich Hottentots put on for the dead. But if their relations are ſo poor, that they cannot afford to kill any cattle for the entertainment of the kraal, they ſhave their heads in narrow ſtripes, alternately leaving a ſtripe of hair, and another ſhaved.

But they have a moſt horrid cuſtom with regard to thoſe of both ſexes who are grown ſuperannuated. So long as an old man or woman is able to fetch in a ſtick a day, or can perform any office of kindneſs, care is taken to render their lives as eaſy as poſſible; but when they can be of no manner of ſervice, they are, by the conſent of the kraal, placed in a ſolitary hut at a conſiderable diſtance, with a ſmall ſtock of proviſions within their reach; where they are left, without any one to aſſiſt them, to die of hunger, or be devoured by the wild beaſts. Cruel as this cuſtom is, they conſider it as an act of mercy; and are

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filled with amazement at hearing the Europeans ſpeak of it with horror.

Beſide theſe, they have ſome ceremonies of a general concern: as upon the overthrow of an enemy; on a conſiderable ſlaughter being made of the wild beaſts that devour their cattle; on the removal of a kraal, when the paſture about it becomes too barren for the ſupport of their cattle; when an inhabitant dies in it, whether a violent or a natural death; or to propitiate the deity when a diſeaſe is got among their ſheep.

When they reſolve to remove a kraal, on account of the barrenneſs of the paſture, they kill a fat ſheep; part they roaſt, and part they boil, ſending the women the uſual regale of broth. The feaſt is conducted with a great deal of mirth and good humour; and is conſidered as a thank-offering for the bounties of nature enjoyed in that place. When they have done, they demoliſh their cots, pack up their furniture, and remove at once, the men in one body, the women and children in another, to the place marked out for a new ſettlement: where being arrived, in about two hours time, they erect the kraal, and diſpoſe of their furniture. A ſheep is then killed by the women, and dreſſed as before; but they now ſend their huſbands the broth, and eat the fleſh themſelves. Having anointed their kroſſes with the fat, they powder their hair with buchu, and go to the ſeveral diverſions among themſelves; which they continue the reſt of the day, and till pretty far in the night. The ſheep is here conſidered as a ſacrifice; and the unctions and powderings are religious formalities, for the proſperity of the kraal, and the continuance of plenty in that neighbourhood.

It may be here proper to deſcribe the manner of building their huts, and diſpoſing of their kraals. The huts are all oval, about fourteen feet the longeſt way, formed of ſticks; one end of which is fixed in the ground, and the other bent over the top ſo as to

make an arch: but they are rarely ſo high as for a man to ſtand upright within them. The arches being fixed by tying bent ſticks with a kind of rope made of ruſhes, the whole is covered with mats; which are made ſo faſt to each other and the ſticks, as not to be removed by the wind or rain. Thoſe of the wealthy Hottentots have alſo a covering of ſkins. They have no other opening but at the entrance, which is alſo arched, and only about three feet high; on the top of which is fixed a ſkin to be taken up and let down, in order to keep out the wind: and this is the only paſſage for the ſmoke. Their furniture conſiſts of earthen pots for dreſſing their victuals, and ſeveral other veſſels for holding water, milk, and butter. Their fire-place is a hole made in the middle of the hut; and their bed, a ſkin ſpread in a hole ſunk a little below the ſurface of the ground. A kraal conſiſts of twenty or more of theſe huts, placed near each other in a circle, leaving an area in the middle; each kraal containing from one to three or four hundred ſouls. The huts of the wealthy are often hung with beautiful ſkins, and a variety of trinkets: but though all the Hottentot huts are narrow, dark, and filthy, harmony reigns continually in almoſt every one of them: that heavenly charm, ſo rarely to be found in the palaces of Europe. When a difference happens between a man and his wife, it is ſoon accommodated: all their neighbours inſtantly interpoſe, and the quarrel is ſpeedily made up. The Hottentots run to the ſuppreſſion of ſtrife, when it has ſeized a family, as we do to put out a fire, when it has ſeized a houſe; and allow themſelves no reſt till every matter of diſpute is adjuſted.

The laſt public ceremony we ſhall here mention, is the propitiatory offerings for a diſeaſe among their ſheep, which laſt for three days; on each of which the old men aſſemble by themſelves, and feaſt on fat ſheep; while the young men at a diſtance eat the entrails,

entrails, and the women and children ſup the broth prepared from the part that is boiled. The feaſt being over, they ſpend the remainder of each day in ſinging and dancing.

The cattle of a kraal run all together; and the meaneſt inhabitant, who has but a ſingle ſheep, has the privilege of turning it into the flock; where as much care is taken of it, as of the ſheep of the richeſt and moſt powerful of the kraal. They have no particular herdſmen or ſhepherds, for driving their cattle to the paſture, and guarding them from wild beaſts. This office they take upon them by turns, three or four of them together: the women milking the cows morning and evening. Between five and ſix in the evening, they generally drive them home. In the area of the kraal they lodge the calves and all the ſmall cattle; and on the outſide range their great cattle, tying two and two together by the feet. Theſe are in the night guarded by the dogs, of which every hut has one or two.

The Hottentots have what they call Backeleyers, or fighting oxen, which they uſe in their wars, as ſome nations do elephants: theſe gore, kick, and trample the enemy to death with incredible fury. Each army has a drove of them, which they take an opportunity to turn upon their foe. The courage of theſe creatures is amazing; and the diſcipline upon which they are formed, does not a little honour to the Hottentot genius and dexterity. They are alſo of great uſe to them in the government of their herds at paſture; for upon a ſignal given them they will fetch in ſtragglers. Every kraal has at leaſt half a dozen of theſe oxen; and when one of them dies, or grows ſo old as to be unfit for ſervice, the moſt ſtately young ox is choſen out of the herd, and taught to ſucceed him. The Backeleyers know every inhabitant of the kraal: but if a ſtranger, eſpecially an European, approaches the herd, without having with him a Hottentot of the kraal to which they belong,

long, they make at him full gallop; and if he is not within hearing of any of the Hottentots who keep the herds, if there is not a tree which he can immediately climb, or if he has not a lighter pair of heels, or a piece of fire-arms, he is certainly demoliſhed. But they no ſooner hear the whiſtling of the keepers through their fingers, or the report of a piſtol, than they return to the herds.

The Hottentots have likewiſe great numbers of oxen for carriage; whom they break with ſuch art, that they render them as obedient to their drivers, as a taught dog in Europe is to the commands of his maſter.

The Hottentots are very expert at ſeveral arts: they will make mats and ropes of great ſtrength of flags and bulruſhes, and form earthen-pots of the mould of ant-hills, in which the bruiſed ant-eggs form a ſurpriſing cement. They faſhion the pot on a ſmooth flat ſtone, by hand, as a paſtry-cook does a pye; let it dry in the ſun, and then burn it in a hole made in the earth, by making a quick fire over it. Theſe pots are as black as jet, and of a ſurpriſing firmneſs. They point their weapons with iron, which they even draw from the ore; and with no other implements but ſtones, beat it out, and ſhape it into weapons: after which they grind and poliſh it ſo nicely upon a flat ſtone, as to render it a valuable piece of work, both for uſe and beauty. This ingenuity is not inconſiſtent with their habitual lazineſs; for a poor Hottentot having made a ſet of arms for his own uſe, and another for ſale to a rich one, by which he has got two or three heads of cattle, can hardly ever be induced to ſet his hand to the ſame labour a third time.

A Hottentot arrow conſiſts of a ſmall tapering ſtick or cane, of about a foot and a half in length, pointed with a ſmall thin piece of iron bearded, and joined to the ſtick or cane by a barrel. Their bows are made of olive or iron-wood; and the ſtrings of the

the ſinews or guts of beaſts, faſtened to a ſtrong wooden or iron hook at each end of the bow. The quiver is a long narrow bag, made of the ſkin of an ox, elk, or elephant, and ſlung over the ſhoulder by a ſtrap faſtened to it; but to the upper end of the quiver is fixed a hook, on which the bow is hung, when they go to war, or to the chace. The haſſagaye is a kind of half pike: the ſhaft is a taper ſtick, of the length and thickneſs of a rake-handle, armed at the thickeſt end with a little thin iron plate, tapering to a point, and very ſharp on the edges. The rackum-ſtick is a kind of dart, little more than a foot long, made of hard wood. In the uſe of theſe weapons, the Hottentots ſhew ſuch quickneſs of eye, and ſureneſs of hand, as I believe no people upon earth have beſide themſelves. They ſtand not, as the Europeans, like ſtatues, to take their aim; but ſkip from ſide to ſide, and brandiſh and whirl the weapon about in ſuch a manner, that you would take the whole for idle flouriſh: but, on a ſudden, away it flies to the mark. Their dexterity on theſe occaſions is quite incredible.

The Hottentots are very expert and courageous hunters, ſhewing great art and agility in taking and killing the wildeſt animals; they are likewiſe very dexterous ſwimmers; this they perform in a different manner from other nations; they beat the water with their feet, and raiſing themſelves erect, paddle along with their necks and arms above the ſurface. Thus they croſs deep rivers, and proceed with great ſwiftneſs in the ſea, dancing forward without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, in the manner which the European ſwimmers call treading the water; riſing and falling with the waves like ſo many corks. They are alſo extreamly expert at fiſhing.

I have already obſerved that the wealth of the Hottentots conſiſts in their cattle, and it is never to be ſeen in any other kind, unleſs it be in elephant's teeth, of which they get a great number, though they bring but

but few to the Cape. The Dutch imagine they diſpoſe of the beſt part of them to the inhabitants of Terra du Natal, or to the Portugueſe at Moſambique. They have no ſuch thing as money among them; for their traffic with one another, as well as with ſtrangers, is always in the way of barter. Generally ſpeaking, they part with the cattle, both to the Europeans and to one another, at ſo cheap a rate as is almoſt incredible. I never offered a pound of tobacco to a Hottentot for an ox, half a pound for a large ſheep, and a quarter of a pound for a fat lamb, but the offer was accepted; though I had the bargain the ſooner, if I offered to crown it with the preſent of a dram.

The wild beaſts of this country are extreamly fierce and ſavage. The lions here are remarkable for their ſtrength. When they come upon their prey they knock it down, and never bite it till they have given it the mortal blow; which is generally accompanied with a dreadful roar. When the lion is pinched with hunger, he ſhakes his mane and laſhes his ſides with his tail. When he is thus agitated, it is almoſt certain death to come in his way; and as he generally lurks for his prey behind the buſhes, travellers ſometimes do not diſcover the motion of his tail till it is too late: but if the lion ſhakes not his mane, nor laſhes himſelf with his tail, a traveller may paſs ſafely by him. The fleſh of a lion eats ſomething like veniſon.

The Cape elephants are much larger than thoſe of any other country, and their teeth are from 60 to 120 pounds weight. Thoſe authors are miſtaken who ſay that they ſleep ſtanding; for I have many a time ſeen very perfect impreſſions of their bodies on the ground where they have ſlept. Their ordinary food is graſs, heath, roots, and the tender branches of ſhrubs. They have no hair; and their ſkins have a multitude of ſcars and ſcratches, which they receive by preſſing through thorns and buſhes.

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The Cape rhinoceros is of a dark aſh-colour, approaching to a black. His ſkin is alſo without hair; but is ſo hard, that it is difficult to pierce it with a ſharp knife. He is repreſented as armed all over with ſcales; but thoſe at the Cape have really none, though the numberleſs ſcars and ſcratches on his hide make him look at a diſtance is if fenced with ſcales. His mouth reſembles that of a hog, and upon his ſnout grows a ſolid dark grey horn near two feet long, ſomewhat bent; with which, when he is angry, he will tear up the ground, and throw ſtones a great way over his head: and on his forehead is another horn, about ſix inches in length, hollow, and in the form of a half bowl inverted. His ears are ſmall, and his legs ſhorter than thoſe of the elephant. With that animal he is at perpetual enmity; and wherever he ſurpriſes him, he rips open his belly with the horn on his ſnout. He catches the ſcent of any creature that is to the windward of him, and marches toward it on a right line, grunting and tearing his way through all oppoſition of trees and buſhes. He never attacks a man unprovoked, unleſs he wears a red coat; in which caſe, he rends and deſtroys every thing that ſtands between him and the object of his rage: if he ſeizes him, he throws him over his head with great violence, and then feeds upon him by licking the fleſh off the bones with his rough and prickly tongue. His eyes are very ſmall; and he only ſees ſtraight forward: though he is pretty ſwift of foot, he is very ſlow and aukward in turning. The way then to avoid him is to ſuffer him to come within eight or ten paces of you, and then to ſlip a few paces aſide; by which means he loſes ſight of you, and it coſts him a great deal of aukward trouble to get you again in his view. This I have more than once experienced. He feeds chiefly on ſhrubs, broom, and thiſtles.

The wild aſſes of the Cape, known by the name of the Zebra, are very beautiful creatures. They are of the ſize of an ordinary ſaddle horſe, and reſemble

ſemble an aſs in nothing but the length of their ears. The legs of this animal are very ſlender and well proportioned; and the hair on his body is ſoft and ſleek. On the ridge of his back a black ſtreak extends from his mane to his tail, and on each ſide are a great many ſtreaks of various colours, that meet under his belly in ſo many girts: ſome are white, ſome yellow, and ſome of a cheſnut-colour; and theſe colours loſe themſelves in one another, in a very beautiful manner. His head, ears, mane, and tail, are alſo ſtreaked with the ſame variety. He is ſo ſwift that, I am apt to believe, there is not an horſe in the world that can keep up with him.

The earth hogs in the Hottentot countries are not unlike the hogs in Europe, only they are ſomewhat red: their heads are longer, their ſnouts more pointed, and they are quite toothleſs. The tongue of this animal is very long and ſharp. When he is hungry he looks out for an ant-hill, and placing himſelf near it, he ſtretches out his tongue to a great length, when the ants mount upon it in vaſt numbers, where they are held by a glutinous matter; and when it is well covered, he draws in, ſwallows them, and then lays out his tongue for more. His legs are long and ſtrong. He ſcratches holes in the ground, in which he hides himſelf; and is very expeditious at this work. If he gets but his head and fore-legs into the earth, he holds ſo faſt, that the ſtrongeſt man cannot pull him out. His fleſh taſtes much like that of a wild hog.

The porcupines of the Cape are about two feet high, and three long. His head and feet are like thoſe of a hare, and his ears reſemble thoſe of a man. His fleſh is wholeſome and well taſted. This animal does great miſchief in the gardens: and therefore, when the breach is diſcovered by which he enters them, a muſket is planted againſt it, charged and cocked: to the trigger is tied a ſtring, which runs cloſe along by the barrel to the muzzle, where a car-

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rot or turnip is faſtened. The porcupine, on ſeizing this bait, pulls the trigger, and is ſhot.

The baboons at the Cape are very numerous, and frequently enter the gardens and orchards, they being great lovers of fruit. On their entering them, they ſet a party to watch upon the fences, and a number of them begin to ſtrip the trees, while the reſt ſtand at a diſtance from each other, in a line from the orchard or garden to the place of rendezvous. The fruit as it is gathered is toſſed to the baboon at the head of the line; and it immediately paſſes from hand to hand; they being ſo very nimble and quick ſighted, as hardly ever to fail catching in their paws the fruit that is thrown to them. All this is done with great ſilence and diſpatch. When the baboons upon the watch diſcover any body approaching, they give a loud cry, and the whole troop ſcours away as if deſtruction was at their heels; the young ones jumping up on the backs of their mothers.

One of the moſt extraordinary animals at the Cape is called by the Dutch Stinkbingſem, or Stinkboz: ſtinking being the grand defence nature has given this creature againſt all its enemies. It is ſhaped like a ferret, and is of the ſize of a middling dog. When its purſuer, whether man or beaſt, is come pretty near, it pours from its tail ſo horrid a ſtench, that it is impoſſible to endure it. A man is almoſt knocked down by it, before he can get away; and a dog, or other animal, is ſo ſtrangely confounded by it, that he is obliged every minute to ſtop, to rub his noſe in the graſs, or againſt a tree. The ſtinkbingſem having thus ſtopped his purſuer, gets a great way a-head of him before the chace can be renewed; and if he comes up with him a ſecond time, he gives him another doſe, and by that means eſcapes again. Thus he proceeds, till his purſuer is ſtunk out of the field. This animal is ſometimes ſhot by the Europeans, but they are obliged to ſuffer it to lie till it rots; for it is no ſooner dead, than its body contracts

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all over ſo nauſeous a ſmell, that if you do but touch it with your fingers, they retain a ſtench that you can neither endure, nor eaſily get off by any kind of waſhing.

Beſide theſe, there are many other quadrupedes at the Cape, ſome of which are well known in Europe; and the reſt, which are common to other hot countries, have frequently been deſcribed by travellers.

There are in this country many of the birds common in Europe, and a multitude of others. The Flamingos of the Cape are larger than ſwans, and their necks much longer: the bill is crooked, furniſhed with ſhort ſharp teeth, and is of a dark blue. The head and neck are white; but the lower parts of the wing feathers are black, and the upper parts of a flame colour: the legs, which are as long again as thoſe of a ſtork, are of an orange colour; and the feet reſemble thoſe of a gooſe. The fleſh is well taſted; and the tongue, which is large and fat, eats like marrow.

Oſtriches are ſo numerous, that a man can hardly walk a quarter of an hour in the country without ſeeing one or more of them. The feathers of ſome of them are black, and of others white: the head is very ſmall in proportion to the body, which is the largeſt in the feathered world: the neck is long, the legs thick and of great ſtrength; and the feet, which are cloven, reſemble thoſe of a goat. The weight of the oſtrich's body prevents her being able to fly; but when ſhe ſees herſelf in danger, ſhe runs, and promotes her ſpeed by clapping her wings, proceeding with ſuch ſwiftneſs, that a man muſt be well mounted to overtake her. If ſhe finds ſhe cannot eſcape her purſuer, ſhe hides her head, and ſtands ſtock ſtill, till ſhe is ſhot or ſeized. Oſtriches will ſwallow pebbles, or pieces of iron; but void them whole, without any remarkable change. They are eaſily tamed; and their eggs are ſo large, that one of them will give a pretty good meal to three or four perſons. The

oſtriches

oſtriches at the Cape do not leave their eggs to be hatched in the ſun; for the male and female ſit upon them by turns. They lay them in the ſand; but if any one touches them, even without doing them the leaſt hurt, the oſtrich will forſake them. The young ones are not able to walk till ſome time after they are out of the ſhell; and are therefore attended by the old one, till they are in a condition to take care of themſelves.

Among the reptiles at the Cape there are ſeveral ſorts of ſerpents, of which the tree-ſerpent ſeems one of the moſt ſingular. It is about two yards long, and three quarters of an inch thick. This ſerpent winds itſelf about the branches of trees in ſuch a manner, as to be hardly diſtinguiſhed from them: all the difference in point of colour, is its being a little ſpeckled. While perſons are gazing at the tree, it darts its head in their faces, and ſometimes wounds them.

The dipſas or thirſt-ſerpent, is ſo called from its bite cauſing a burning thirſt. It is frequently to be met with in the Cape countries, and is about three quarters of a yard long. The aſp is of an aſh-colour, ſpeckled with red and yellow. The head and neck are very broad; the eyes are flat, and ſunk in the head; and near each of them grows a fleſhy protuberance: they are of various lengths, and ſome of them ſeveral yards long. The Cape hair-ſerpent is about a yard long, and three quarters of an inch thick. It is more dangerous than any of the other ſerpents, its bite cauſing immediate death, unleſs there be a remedy at hand. Scorpions are very numerous at the Cape, and harbour moſtly among the ſtones; on which account the Europeans are very cautious of removing the ſtones with their hands, for fear of being ſtung.

They have fiſh at the Cape in great plenty: whales, porpoiſes, pilot-fiſh, ſharks, flying-fiſh, pike, barbels,

bels, carp, eels, lobſters, crabs, oyſters, and many other kinds.

There are ſeveral ſorts of ſea-ſnails; among which the pearl-ſnails are moſt worthy of notice. It is no ſmall pleaſure to obſerve them on the ſurface of the water in calm weather, when their ſhells ſerve them as boats. They erect their heads conſiderably above theſe natural veſſels, and ſpreading out a kind of ſail with which nature has furniſhed them, move along in a manner very diverting to the ſpectator. * If when they ſail they find they are in any danger, they draw themſelves cloſe into their ſhells, and ſink out of ſight. Many of theſe ſhells will hold near a quart; and are uſed at the Cape as drinking cups. The Cape Europeans put to them a foot of ſilver, ivory, or wood; and ſome are curiouſly embelliſhed with ornaments, engraved on the outſide.

I have now given an account of the moſt material circumſtances relating to the nations of the Hottentots, and the Dutch ſettlement at the Cape; and ſhall therefore only add, that on the 9th of April, 1713, I embarked on board the Company's ſhip the Stadthouſe for Holland; and after an agreeable voyage, in which nothing remarkable happened, arrived on the 22d of May at Amſterdam, from whence I had the pleaſure of returning to my native country.

* This is probably the nautilus, celebrated in the following lines of Mr. Pope.

'Learn of the little nautilus to ſail,
'Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.'

Eſſay on Man. Ep. III.

Mr. JOHN NIEUHOFF's VOYAGES TO THE EAST INDIES.

AUGUST the 23d, 1633, Mr. Nieuhoff embarked at Amſterdam for the Eaſt Indies, on board the Calf, Cornelius Juſt maſter.

October the 10th, they came in view of the iſland of St. Vincent; in the bay of which they came to anchor about noon, and provided themſelves with freſh water, goats, and fruit, which they purchaſed at very trifling rates.

St. Vincent is one of the Cape Verde iſlands; about five leagues in circumference, and ſubject to the Portugueſe. The inhabitants who live in a moſt miſerable manner, are negroes ſent thither from ſeveral neighbouring colonies to catch wild goats; the ſkins of which they ſend to Portugal, where they ſell to advantage.

They ſailed from this place on the 26th, and on the 9th of March got into the Table Bay, in the Cape of Good Hope, about noon. It was well they arrived here ſo ſoon, on account of the plenty of medicines and refreſhments of all ſorts, for which the Cape of Good Hope is remarkable; above forty of their men lying ſick, beſide eighty that they had loſt upon their voyage. The fields about the Cape, a little way up the country, are covered with lillies and tulips. Things in general are extreamly dear here: arrack ſelling for ſixpence a quartern, brandy for a ſhilling, and a ſizeable water melon at no leſs than half a crown. The Hottentots, who are ſometimes

very ſhy of trafficking with ſtrangers, exchange their cattle for tobacco pipes, bits of copper, and other toys*.

Whales are ſometimes found in the Table Bay; but they are very lean: and among their fiſh, to moſt of the ſpecies of which we are ſtrangers, is the ſoal, the Hottentot fiſh, ſomething like a cod; and the torpedo, or cramp-fiſh, ſo called from its communicating that diſorder to thoſe whom it chances to touch while it is alive.

No place in the world is more ſubject to ſtorms than the Cape; but ſhips are ſufficiently ſheltered from their violence, by the ſeveral commodious bays wherewith nature has provided it.

March the 13th, they quitted the Cape, ſteering their courſe weſtward, and on the 24th of May anchored to the north-north-eaſt of the iſle of Java, where ſeveral boats came off to them with proviſions and refreſhments: they left this place on the 26th; and on the 30th, about four in the afternoon arrived off the city of Batavia, where our author went aſhore, and was ſoon after ſent in the train of an embaſſy from the governor of Batavia to China, in quality of a ſteward. After his return from thence, he made a voyage home in a ſhip called the Pearl, and arrived in Amſterdam on the 6th of July, 1658.

DECEMBER the 22d, 1658, Mr. John Nieuhoff was ordered by the Eaſt India company to embark on board a ſhip called the Arnheim, of five hundred tons, carrying forty guns and four hundred and thirty men. They came to anchor before the city of Batavia, July the 18th, 1659; where Mr. Nieuhoff having delivered up his charge as ſupercargo, was ordered on board the Henrietta Louiſa, bound for Amboyna, ſome of the company's goods being delivered to his care.

* For an account of the Cape and its inhabitants, ſee Kolben's Voyage thither, immediately preceding.

Amboyna

Amboyna is by ſome counted one of the Molucca iſlands: it lies in 3° ſouth latitude, 24 leagues from the iſle of Banda; is about 24 leagues in circumference, and abounds with cloves, which were firſt planted there in the year 1636. The inhabitants are entirely devoted to the ſervice of the Eaſt India company; and are divided into villages, each of which is obliged to furniſh its annual quota of ſpice. The air of the iſland is but indifferent, and infects the body with a ſcrophulous diſorder, not unlike the French-pox; which is eaſily cured in the firſt ſtage, but is found very ſtubborn if allowed to proceed to any height.

Amboyna is fertile in millet, tobacco, ſugar, coco, potatoes, oranges, lemons, citron, ſugar, bamboes, &c. The nutmegs are not ſo good here as in the other iſlands: its moſt remarkable commodity is the clove.

[HAD Mr. Nieuhoff been of any other country than Holland, it would have been impoſſible for him to have mentioned Amboyna, without recollecting the tragical ſcene which at the time of his writing had been ſo recently tranſacted there. But though his ſilence is very naturally to be accounted for, the relation is very proper to introduce at this place, and ought never to be forgotten by the Britiſh nation. It is taken from an authentic account publiſhed by our Engliſh company of that black affair, at the time.

This iſland, as has been obſerved, produces great quantities of cloves; for gathering and buying in whereof, the Engliſh company, for their part, had planted five factories: the head and rendezvous of all at the town of Amboyna. Here the Engliſh lived, not in the Dutch caſtle, but under protection thereof, in a houſe of their own, in the town; holding themſelves ſafe, as well in reſpect of the ancient bonds of amity between both Nations, as of the ſtrict conjunction made by late treaty.

They continued here two years converſing and trading with the Dutch, by virtue of the ſaid treaty; in which time there fell out ſeveral differences and debates between them; the Engliſh complaining, that the Dutch did not only laviſh away much money in building, and unneceſſary expences upon the forts, and otherwiſe, and bring large and unreaſonable reckonings thereof to the common account; but alſo did, for their part, pay the garriſon with victuals and cloth of Coromandel, which they put off to the ſoldiers at three or four times the value it coſt them, yet would not allow of the Engliſh company's part of the ſame charge, but only in ready money, thereby drawing from the Engliſh more than two thirds of the whole true charge. Hereupon, and upon the like occaſions, grew ſome diſcontents and diſputes; and the complaints were ſent to Jaccatra, in the iſland of Java Major, to the council of defence of both nations there reſiding: who alſo not agreeing upon the points in difference, ſent the ſame hither over into Europe, to be decided by both companies here; or in default of their agreement, by the king of England and the lords the States-general, according to an article of the treaty of the year 1619 on this behalf. In the mean time, the diſcontent between the Engliſh and the Dutch about theſe and other differences continued, and daily increaſed; until at laſt there was a ſword found to cut in ſunder that knot at once, which the tedious diſputes of Amboyna and Jaccatra could not untie; and this was uſed in the manner as followeth.

About the 11th of February 1622, O. S. a Japaneſe ſoldier in the ſervice of the Dutch in their caſtle of Amboyna, walking in the night upon the wall, came to the centinel, and among other talk, aſked him ſome queſtions touching the ſtrength of the caſtle. It is here to be obſerved, that thoſe Japaneſe were not lodged in the caſtle, but were upon occaſion called out of the town to aſſiſt the watch. This Japaneſe was,

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for his ſaid conference w . the centinel, apprehended upon ſuſpicion of trea .., and put to the torture; thereby he was broug .o confeſs himſelf and ſundry others of his country' n there, to have contrived the taking of the caſtle. Hereupon other Japaneſe were examined and tort .d; as alſo a Portugueſe, the guardian of the ſl s under the Dutch. During this examination, wh .1 continued three or four days, ſome of the En .hmen going to and from the caſtle, upon their buſ .ſs, ſaw the priſoners, heard of their tortures, and the crime laid to their charge; but all this while ıſpected not that this matter did any whit concer .hemſelves, having never had any converſation w 1 the Japaneſe, nor with the Portugueſe aforeſaid.

At the .me time, there was one Abel Price, chirurgeon the Engliſh, priſoner in the caſtle, for offering i .is drunkenneſs, to ſet a Dutchman's houſe on fir This fellow the Dutch took, and ſhewed him ſ e of the Japaneſe, whom they had firſt moſt griev ſly tortured; and told him, they had confeſſed the gliſh to have been of their confederacy for the tak , of the caſtle; and that if he would not confeſs the .me, they would uſe him even as they had done th Japaneſe, and worſe alſo. Having given him t' torture, they ſoon made him confeſs whatever t y aſked him. This was on the 15th of February 22, O. S. Forthwith, about nine of the clock the ne morning, they ſent for Captain Towerſon, and ıe reſt of the Engliſh that were in the town, to come) ſpeak with the governor in the caſtle. They all went, ſave one that was left to keep the houſe. Being come to the governor, he told Captain Towerſon, that himſelf and others of his nation, were accuſed of a conſpiracy to ſurprize the caſtle; and therefore, until further trial, were to remain priſoners. Inſtantly alſo they attacked him that was left at home in the houſe, took the merchandize of the Engliſh company there into their own cuſtody, by an inventory, and

ſeized all the cheſts, boxes, books, writings, and other things in the Engliſh houſe.

Captain Towerſon was committed to his chamber, with a guard of Dutch ſoldiers. Emanuel Thomſon was kept priſoner in the caſtle; the reſt were ſent aboard the Dutch ſhips then riding in the harbour; ſome to one ſhip, and ſome to another, and all made faſt in irons. The ſame day alſo, the governor ſent to the two other factories in the ſame iſland, to apprehend the reſt of the Engliſh there; who were brought in irons to Amboyna, the 20th of the ſame month. In the mean time, the governor and fiſcal went to work with the priſoners that were already here: and firſt, they ſent for John Beamont and Timothy Johnſon, from on board the Unicorn; who being come into the caſtle, Beamont was left with a guard in the hall, and Johnſon went into another room; where, by and by, Beamont heard him cry out very pitifully, then to be quiet a little while, and then loud again.

After taſte of the torture, then Abel Price the chirurgeon that firſt was examined and tortured, was brought in to confront and accuſe him: but Johnſon not yet confeſſing any thing, Price was quickly carried out, and Johnſon brought again to the torture, where Beamont heard him ſometimes cry aloud, then quiet again, then roar afreſh. At laſt, after he had been about an hour in this ſecond examination, he was brought forth wailing and lamenting, all wet, and cruelly burnt in divers parts of his body, and ſo laid aſide, in a bye-place in the hall, with a ſoldier to watch him, that he ſhould ſpeak to nobody. Then was Emanuel Thomſon brought to examination, not in the room where Johnſon had been, but in another ſomewhat farther from the hall; yet Beamont being in the hall, heard him roar moſt lamentably, and many times. At laſt, after an hour and an half ſpent in torturing him, he was carried away into another room another way, ſo that he came not by Beamont through

through the hall. Next was Beamont called in; and being demanded many things, all which he denied with deep oaths and proteſtations, was made faſt to be tortured, a cloth tied about his neck, and two men ready with jars of water to be poured on his head; but yet for this time the governor bad looſe him, he would ſpare him a day or two, becauſe he was an old man: this was all Saturday's work, the 15th of February aforeſaid.

On the 16th William Webber, Edward Collins, Ephraim Ramſay, and Robert Brown, were fetched from aboard the Rotterdam to be examined: At the ſame time came Samuel Colſon, William Griggs, and John Clark, George Sharrock, and John Saaler, from Hitto and Larica; and were, immediately upon their arrival, brought into the caſtle-hall. Robert Brown, taylor, was firſt called in, and being tormented with water, confeſſed all in order as the fiſcal aſked him. Then was Edward Collins called in, and told, that thoſe that were formerly examined had confeſſed him as acceſſary to the plot of taking the caſtle; which, when he denied with great oaths and execrations, they made his hands and his feet faſt to the rack, bound a cloth about his throat ready to be put to the torture of the water. Thus prepared, he prayed to be reſpited, and he would confeſs all. Being let down, he again vowed and proteſted his innocency; yet ſaid, that becauſe he knew they would, by torture, make him confeſs any thing, though ever ſo falſe, they would do him a great favour to tell him what they would have him ſay, and he would ſpeak it, to avoid the torture. The fiſcal hereupon ſaid, What, do you mock us? And bad up with him again, and ſo gave him the torment of water; which he not being able long to endure, deſired to be let down again to his confeſſion. Then he deviſed with himſelf and told them, That about two months and a half ago, himſelf, Thomſon, Johnſon, Brown, and Fardo, had plotted, with the help of the Japaneſe, to ſurprize the caſtle. Here

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he was interrupted by the fiſcal, and aſked, whether Captain Towerſon were not of that conſpiracy? He anſwered, No; You lie, ſaid the fiſcal, did not he call you all to him, and tell you, that thoſe daily abuſes of the Dutch had cauſed him to think of a plot, and that he wanted nothing but your conſent and ſecrecy? Then ſaid a Dutch merchant, one John Igoſt, that ſtood by, Did not you all ſwear upon a Bible to be ſecret to him? Collins anſwered with great oaths, that he knew nothing of any ſuch matter. Then they bad make him faſt again; whereupon he then ſaid, all was true that they had ſpoken. Then the fiſcal aſked him whether the Engliſh in the reſt of the factories were not conſenting to this plot? He anſwered, No; The fiſcal then aſked him, whether the preſident of the Engliſh at Jaccatra, or Mr. Welden, agent in Banda, were not plotters, or privy to this buſineſs? Again he anſwered, No. Then the fiſcal aſked him by what means the Japaneſe ſhould have executed their purpoſe? Whereat, when Collins ſtood ſtaggering and deviſing of ſome probable fiction, the fiſcal helped him, and ſaid, Should not two Japaneſe have gone to each point of the caſtle, and two to the governor's chamber-door; and when the hurly-burly had been without, and the governor coming to ſee what was the matter, the Japaneſe to have killed him? Here one that ſtood by, ſaid to the fiſcal, Do not tell him what he ſhould ſay, but let him ſpeak of himſelf: whereupon the fiſcal, without attending the anſwer to his former queſtion, aſked, what the Japaneſe were to have had for their reward? Collins anſwered, 1000 rials a piece. Laſtly; he aſked him, When this plot ſhould have been effected? Whereupon, although he anſwered him nothing, not knowing what to deviſe upon the ſudden, yet he was diſmiſſed, and very glad to come clear off the torture, though with certain belief that he ſhould die for this his confeſſion.

The CRUELTIES *inflicted by the* Dutch *on the Engliſh, at* AMBOYNA.

Next was Samuel Colſon brought in, being newly arrived from Hitto, as is before touched, and was the ſame day brought to the torture; who, for fear of the pain wherewith he ſaw Collins come out, in ſuch a caſe, that his eyes were almoſt blown out of his head with the water, choſe rather to confeſs all they aſked him, and ſo was quickly diſmiſſed, coming out weeping, lamenting, proteſting his innocency. Then was John Clark, that came with Colſon from Hitto, fetched in, and a little after was heard to cry out amain. They tortured him with water and with fire, by the ſpace of two hours. The manner of his torture, which was likewiſe that of Johnſon's and Thomſon's, was as followeth: Firſt, they hoiſted him up by the hands with a cord, on a large door, where they made him faſt, upon two ſtaples of iron fixed on both ſides, at the top of the door-poſts, hailing his hands one from the other as wide as they could ſtretch. Being thus made faſt, his feet hung two foot from the ground, which alſo they ſtretched aſunder as far as they could, and made them faſt beneath, under the door-trees on each ſide. Then they bound a cloth about his neck and face, ſo cloſe, that little or no water could go by; that done, they poured the water ſoftly upon his head, until the cloth was full up to the mouth and noſtrils, and ſomewhat higher, ſo that he could not draw breath but he muſt withal ſuck in the water: which being ſtill continued to be poured in ſoftly, ſtifling or choaking him; at length threw him into a ſwoon, or fainting. Then they took him quickly down, and made him vomit up the water: being a little recovered, they tied him up again, and poured in the water as before, often taking him down as he ſeemed to be ſtifled. In this manner they handled him three or four ſeveral times, till his body was ſwoln twice or thrice as big as before; his cheeks like great bladders, and his eyes ſtarting out; yet all this he bore without confeſſing any thing, inſomuch that the fiſcal and tormentors reviled him,

ſaying, that he was a devil, and no man, or ſurely he was a witch, at leaſt had ſome charm about him, or was inchanted, that he could bear ſo much; wherefore they cut off his hair very ſhort, as ſuppoſing he had ſome witchcraft hidden therein. Afterward they hoiſted him up again, as before, and then burnt him with lighted candles in the bottom of his feet, until the fat dropped out on the candles; yet they applied freſh lights unto him: they burnt him alſo under the elbows, and in the palms of his hands; likewiſe under the arm-pits, until his inwards might evidently be ſeen.

At laſt, when they ſaw he could of himſelf make no handſome confeſſion, then they led him along with queſtions of particular circumſtances by themſelves framed. Being thus wearied and overcome by the torment, he anſwered, Yea, to whatever they aſked, whereby they drew from him a body of confeſſion to this effect; to wit, That Captain Towerſon had, upon New-Year's-Day then laſt paſt, ſworn all the Engliſh at Amboyna to be ſecret and aſſiſtant in a plot that he had projected, with the help of the Japaneſe, to ſurpriſe the caſtle, and to put the governor and the reſt of the Dutch to death. Having thus martyred this poor man, they ſent him out by four blacks, who carried him between them to a dungeon, where he lay five or ſix days, without any chirurgeon to dreſs him; until his fleſh being putrified, great maggots dropped and crept from it in a moſt loathſome and noiſome manner. Thus they finiſhed their Sabbath-day's work; and it growing now dark, ſent the reſt of the Engliſh that came that day from Hitto, and till then attended in the hall, firſt to the ſmith's ſhop, where they were loaded with irons, and then to the ſame loathſome dungeon, where Clark and the reſt were accompanied with the poor Japaneſe, lying in the putrefaction of their tortures.

The next morning, being Monday, the ſeventeenth of February, O. S. William Griggs, and John Fardo, with

with certain Japaneſe, were brought into the place of examination. The Japaneſe were firſt cruelly tortured to accuſe Grigg; which, at laſt, they did; and Grigg, to avoid the like torture, confeſſed all that the fiſcal demanded. By and by the like was alſo done by John Fardo and other Japaneſe: but Fardo himſelf endured the torture of water, and at laſt confeſſed whatſoever the fiſcal aſked him, and ſo was ſent back to priſon. The ſame day alſo John Beamont was brought the ſecond time to the fiſcal's chamber, where one Captain Newport, a Dutchman's ſon, born in England, was uſed as an interpreter: William Griggs was alſo brought in to accuſe him, who ſaid, That when the conſultation was held for taking the caſtle, he the ſaid Beamont was then preſent. Beamont denied it with great earneſtneſs and deep oaths; at laſt, being ſtretched up, and drenched with water till his inwards were ready to crack, he anſwered affirmatively to all the fiſcal's interrogatories. Yet, as ſoon as he was let down, he clearly demonſtrated to Captain Newport, and Johnſon, a Dutch merchant, then alſo preſent, that theſe things could not be ſo; nevertheleſs he was forced to put his hand to the confeſſion, or elſe he muſt to the torture again; which, to avoid, he ſubſcribed; and ſo had a great iron bolt, and two ſhackles riveted to his legs, and then was carried back to priſon.

After this George Sharrock, aſſiſtant at Hitto, was called in queſtion, who ſeeing how grievouſly others were martyred, made his earneſt prayer to God, as ſince upon his oath he hath acknowleged, that he would ſuffer him to make ſome ſuch probable lies againſt himſelf, as the Dutch might believe, and ſo he might eſcape the torment. Being brought to the rack, the water provided, and the candles lighted, he was by the governor and fiſcal examined, and charged with the conſpiracy. He fell upon his knees, and proteſted his innocence: then they commanded him to the rack, and told him, unleſs he would confeſs

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he ſhould be tormented with fire and water to death; and then ſhould be drawn by the knees to the gallows, and there hanged up. He ſtill perſiſting in his innocence, the fiſcal bid him be hoiſted up; then he craved reſpite a while, and told them, that he was at Hitto, and not in Amboyna, upon New-Year's-Day, when the conſultation was pretended, neither had he been there ſince November before, as was well known to ſundry of the Dutchmen themſelves that reſided there alſo with him.

Hereupon they commanded him again to the rack; but he craving reſpite, as before, now told them that he had many times heard John Clark ſay, that the Dutch had done them many inſufferable wrongs, and that he would be revenged on them: to which end he had once broken with Captain Towerſon a brave plot; at which word the fiſcal and the reſt were attentive, encouraging him to proceed. So he went on, ſaying, that John Clark had entreated Captain Towerſon that he might go to Macaſſar, there to conſult and adviſe with the Spaniards to come with gallies, and rob the ſmall factories of Amboyna and Secan, when no ſhips were there. Here they aſked him what Captain Towerſon ſaid to this? To which he anſwered, that Captain Towerſon was very much offended with Clark for the motion, and from thenceforth could never abide him. Hereupon the fiſcal called him rogue, and ſaid he prated all from the matter, and ſhould go to the torture. He craved favour again, and began another tale, to wit, That upon Twelfth-Day, then laſt paſt, John Clark told him at Hitto, that there was a practice to take the caſtle of Amboyna, and aſked him whether he would conſent thereto: whereupon he demanded of Clark whether Captain Towerſon knew of any ſuch matter; which Clark affirming, then the ſaid Sharrock ſaid, he would do as the reſt did. Then the fiſcal aſked him what time the conſultation was held? He anſwered, in November laſt. The fiſcal ſaid that could not be, for

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the conſultation was on New-Year's-Day. The priſoner ſaid as before in the beginning, that he had not been in Amboyna ſince the firſt of December till now, that he was brought thither. Why then, quoth the fiſcal, have you belied yourſelf? Whereto the priſoner reſolutely anſwered, that all that he had ſpoken touching treaſon, was falſe, and feigned only to avoid torment. Then went the fiſcal out into another room to the governor, and anon returned and ſent Sharrock unto the priſon again.

The next day he was called again, and a writing preſented him; wherein was framed a formal confeſſion of his laſt conference with Clark at Hitto, touching the plot to take the caſtle of Amboyna; which being read over to him, the fiſcal aſked him, whether it was true or no? He anſwered, No. Why then, ſaid the fiſcal, did you confeſs it? He anſwered, for fear of torment. The fiſcal and the reſt, in a great rage, told him he lied, his mouth had ſpoken it; and it was true; and therefore he ſhould ſubſcribe it; which, as ſoon as he had done, he fell preſently into a great paſſion, charging them bitterly with the guilt of the innocent blood of himſelf and the reſt, which they ſhould look to anſwer for at the day of judgment: Withal he grappled with the fiſcal, and would have ſtopped him from carrying in the confeſſion to the governor, with whom he alſo craved to ſpeak, but was inſtantly laid hold on, and carried away to priſon. William Webber being next examined, was told by the fiſcal, that John Clark had confeſſed him to have been at Amboyna on New-Year's-Day, and ſworn to Captain Towerſon's plot, &c. all which he denied, alleging he was that day at Larica; yet, being brought to the torture, he then confeſſed he had been at the conſultation at Amboyna upon New-Year's-Day, with all the reſt of the circumſtances in order as he was aſked.

He alſo further told them, he had received a letter from John Clark, which was a poſtſcript, excuſing

cuſing his brief writing at that time, for that there was then great buſineſs in hand. But one Kender, a Dutch merchant, then ſtanding by, told the governor, that upon New-Year's-Day, the time of this pretended conſultation, Webber and he were merry at Larica; ſo the governor left him, and went out. But the fiſcal held out upon the other point, touching the poſtſcript of Clark's letter, urging him to ſhew the ſame; which, when he could not do, though often terrified with the torture, he gave him reſpite, promiſing to ſave his life, if he would produce the letter. Then was Captain Towerſon brought to the examination, and ſhewed what others had confeſſed of him. He deeply proteſted his innocency. Samuel Colſon was brought to confront him; who being told, that unleſs he would now make good his former confeſſion againſt Captain Towerſon, he ſhould go to the torture, coldly reaffirmed the ſame, and ſo was ſent away. They alſo brought William Griggs and John Fardo to juſtify their former confeſſions to his face. Captain Towerſon ſeriouſly charged, that as they would anſwer it at the dreadful day of judgment, they ſhould ſpeak nothing but the truth. Both of them inſtantly fell down upon their knees before him, praying him, for God's ſake, to forgive them; and ſaying further, openly, before them all, that whatſoever they had formerly confeſſed, was moſt falſe, and ſpoken only to avoid torment. With that the fiſcal and the reſt ordered them again to the torture; which they would not endure, but then affirmed their former confeſſions to be true.

When Colſon, who had accuſed the captain before, was required to ſet his hand to his confeſſion; he aſked the fiſcal upon whoſe head he thought the ſin would lie, whether upon his, who was conſtrained to confeſs what was falſe, or upon the conſtrainer? The fiſcal, after a little pauſe upon this queſtion, went in to the governor, then in another room; but anon, returning, ſaid he muſt ſubſcribe it; which he did;

did; yet withal made this proteſtation, Well, quoth he, you make me to accuſe myſelf and others, of that which is as falſe as God is true; for God is my witneſs, I am as innocent as the child new born. Thus they examined all the Engliſh company in the ſeveral factories of the iſland of Amboyna. February the twenty-firſt they examined John Wetherel, factor at Cambello, in the iſland of Seran. He confeſſed he was at Amboyna upon New-Year's-Day; but for the conſultation whereof he was demanded, he ſaid he knew of no other but touching certain cloth of the Engliſh company that lay in the factories rotting and worm-eaten, which they adviſed together how to put off to the beſt avail of their employers. The governor ſaid, he queſtioned him not about cloth, but of treaſon; whereof, when he had proteſted his innocence, he was for that time diſmiſſed. But the next day he was ſent for again, and Captain Towerſon brought to confront and accuſe him, having before confeſſed ſomewhat againſt him. But Mr. Towerſon ſpoke theſe words only, O Mr. Wetherel, Mr. Wetherel, ſpeak the truth, and nothing but the truth, as God ſhall put it in your heart: ſo Captain Towerſon was put out again, and Mr. Wetherel brought to the torture of water, with great threats, that if water would not make him confeſs, fire ſhould. He prayed them to tell him what he ſhould ſay, or to write down what they would, he would ſubſcribe it. They ſaid, he needed no tutor, they would make him confeſs himſelf: but when they had hoiſted him up four ſeveral times, and ſaw he knew not what to ſay; then they read him other mens confeſſions, and aſked him from point to point, as they had done others; and he ſtill anſwered, Yea, to all.

Next was called in John Powel, Wetherel's aſſiſtant at Cambello; but he proving that he was not at Amboyna ſince November, ſave now, when he was brought thither priſoner; and being ſpoken for by one John Jooſt, who had long been well acquainted

with him, was diſmiſſed without torture. Then was Thomas Ladbrook, ſervant to Wetherel and Powel at Cambello, at the time of the pretended conſultation, and ſerving in ſuch quality, as that he was never acquainted with any of the letters from the agent of Amboyna, he was eaſily and quickly diſmiſſed. Ephraim Ramſey was alſo examined upon the whole conſpiracy, and particularly queſtioned concerning Captain Weldon, the Engliſh agent in Banda; but denying all, and proving that he was not at Amboyna at New-year's-tide, being alſo ſpoken for by John Jooſt, was diſmiſſed, after he had hanged in the rack a good while, with irons about his legs, and the cloth about his mouth. Laſtly, John Sadler, ſervant to William Griggs at Larica, was examined, and being found to have been abſent from Amboyna at New-year's-tide, when Griggs and others were there, was diſmiſſed.

Thus have we all their examinations, tortures, and confeſſions, being the work of eight days, from the 15th to the 23d of February; after which were two days reſpite before the ſentence. John Powel being himſelf acquitted as aforeſaid, went to the priſon to viſit John Fardo, one of theſe that had accuſed Captain Towerſon; to him Fardo religiouſly proteſted his innocency, but eſpecially his ſorrow for accuſing Mr. Towerſon: for, ſaid he, the fear of death doth nothing diſmay me; for God, I truſt, will be merciful to my ſoul, according to the innocence of my cauſe. The only matter that troubles me is, that through fear of torment I have accuſed that honeſt and godly man Captain Towerſon; whom, I think in my conſcience, was ſo upright toward all men, that he harboured no ill-will to any man; much leſs would attempt any ſuch buſineſs as he is accuſed of. He farther ſaid, he would before his death receive the ſacrament, in acknowledgment, that he had accuſed Captain Towerſon falſely and wrongfully, only through fear of torment.

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On the 25th, O. S. all the priſoners, as well the Engliſh as the Portugueſe and Japoneſe, were brought into the great hall of the caſtle, and there were ſolemnly condemned, except, John Powel, Ephraim Ramſey, John Sadler, and Thomas Ladbrook, formerly acquitted as aforeſaid. Captain Towerſon, during all his impriſonment, having been kept from the reſt, ſo that none could come to ſpeak with him, writ much in his chamber: but all was ſuppreſſed, ſave only a bill of debt, which one Thomas Johnſon, a free burgher, got of him, by favour of his keepers, for an acknowledgment, that the Engliſh company owed him a certain ſum of money. In the end of this bill he writ theſe words, "Firmed by the form of me Gabriel Towerſon, now appointed to die guiltleſs of any thing that can be juſtly laid to my charge. God forgive them their guilt, and receive me to his mercy. Amen." This bill being brought to Mr. Weldon, the Engliſh agent at Banda, he paid the money, and received in the acknowledgment. William Griggs, who had before accuſed Captain Towerſon, writ a ſolemn aſſeveration of his innocence, pleading his torture in excuſe for his former confeſſions of guilt; in his table book.

This table-book was afterward delivered to M. Weldon, before mentioned, by one that ſerved the Dutch. Samuel Colſon alſo, another that accuſed Captain Towerſon, writ to the ſame effect in the waſte leaves of a book, wherein were bound together the Common-Prayers, the Pſalms, and the Catechiſm. This book he delivered to one that ſerved the Dutch, who ſewed it up in his bed, and afterward, at his opportunity, delivered it to Mr. Weldon beforementioned. Theſe writings are yet extant, under the hands of the ſeveral parties well known to their friends here in England.

The twenty-ſixth day of February, O. S. the priſoners were all brought into the great hall of the caſtle, except Captain Towerſon, and Emanuel Thom-

ſon, to be prepared for death by the miniſters. The Japaneſe now all in general, as ſome of them had done before in particular, cried out unto the Engliſh, ſaying, Oh! you Engliſhmen, where did we ever in our lives eat with you, talk with you, or, to our remembrance, ſee you? The Engliſh anſwered, why then have you accuſed us? The poor men perceiving they were made believe each had accuſed others, before they had ſo done, indeed; ſhewed them their tortured bodies, and ſaid, If a ſtone were thus burat, would it not change its nature? How much more then we that are fleſh and blood? Whilſt they were all in the hall, Captain Towerſon was brought up into the place of Examination, and two great jars of water carried after him; what he there did, or ſuffered, is unknown to the Engliſh; but it ſeemeth, they made him then to underwrite his confeſſion. After ſupper, John Powel, Ephraim Ramſey, Thomas Ladbrook, and John Sadler, who were found not guilty, as aforeſaid, were taken from the reſt, and put into another room: by and by alſo were Samuel Colſon and Edward Collins brought from the reſt, into the room where Emanuel Thomſon lay. The fiſcal told them, it was the governor's mercy to ſave one of thoſe three; and it being indifferent to him which of them were the man, it was his pleaſure they ſhould draw lots for it; which they did, and the free lot fell to Edward Collins, who then was carried away to the chamber, where John Powel, and the reſt that were quit, lodged; and Samuel Colſon back into the hall. Anon alſo John Beaumont was brought out of the hall into the chamber, where John Powel, and the reſt of the acquitted perſons were; and was told, that he was beholden to Peter Johnſon, the Dutch merchant of Loho, and to the ſecretary, for they two had begged his life. So then there remained in the hall ten of the Engliſh; for Captain Towerſon and Emanuel Thomſon were kept in ſeveral rooms apart from the reſt. To theſe that remained in the hall came

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the Dutch miniſters, who telling them how ſhort a time they had to live, admoniſhed and exhorted them to make their true confeſſions; for it was a dangerous and deſperate thing to diſſemble at ſuch a time.

The Engliſh ſtill profeſſed their innocency, and prayed the miniſters that they might all receive the ſacrament, as a ſeal of the forgiveneſs of their ſins; and withal, thereby to confirm their laſt profeſſion of their innocence; but this would by no means be granted. Whereupon Samuel Colſon ſaid thus unto the miniſters, You manifeſt unto us the danger of diſſimulation in this caſe; but tell us, if we ſuffer guiltleſs, being otherwiſe alſo true believers in Jeſus Chriſt, what ſhall be our reward? The preacher anſwered, by how much the clearer you are, ſo much the more glorious ſhall be your reſurrection. With that word Colſon ſtarted up, embraced the preacher, and gave him his purſe, with ſuch money as he had in it, ſaying, *Domine*, God bleſs you. Tell the governor I freely forgive him; and I intreat you to exhort him to repent him of his bloody tragedy wrought upon us poor innocent ſouls. Here all the reſt of the Engliſh ſignified their conſent to this ſpeech. Then ſpake John Fardo to the reſt, in the preſence of the miniſters, as followeth: My countrymen and brethren, that are here with me, condemned to die, I charge you all, as you will anſwer it at God's judgment ſeat, if any of you be guilty of this matter, whereof we are condemned, diſcharge your conſciences, and confeſs the truth, for ſatisfaction of the world. Hereupon Samuel Colſon ſpake with a loud voice, ſaying, According to my innocence in this treaſon, ſo, Lord, pardon all the reſt of my ſins; and if I be guilty thereof, more or leſs, let me never be partaker of thy heavenly joys: at which words every one of the reſt cried out, Amen; for me, Amen; for me, good Lord. This done, each of them knowing whom he had accuſed, went one to another, begging forgiveneſs for their falſe accuſation,

being wrung from them by the pains or fear of torture; and they all freely forgave one another: for none had been ſo falſely accuſed, but he himſelf had accuſed another as falſely. In particular, George Sharrock, who ſurvived to relate this night's paſſage, kneeled down to John Clark, whom he had accuſed of the tale at Hitto above-mentioned, and craved forgiveneſs at his hands. Clark freely forgave him, ſaying, How ſhall I look to be forgiven of God, if I ſhould not forgive you; having myſelf ſo falſely accuſed captain Towerſon and others? After this they ſpent the reſt of the doleful night in prayer, ſinging of pſalms, and comforting one another; though the Dutch that guarded them offered them wine, bidding them drink luſtily, and drive away the ſorrow, according to the cuſtom of their own country in the like caſes, but contrary to the nature of the Engliſh.

Upon the morrow morning, being the execution day, the 27th of February, O. S. John Powel being freed, as before recited, came into the room where the condemned priſoners were, and found them at prayers. They all requeſted him to relate unto their friends in England the innocency of their cauſe; taking it upon their deaths, that what they had confeſſed againſt themſelves and others, touching this crime, was all falſe, and forced by fear of torture. The ſame morning William Webber was called again into the fiſcal's room, and there preſſed to produce the letter which he had before confeſſed to have received from John Clark; in the poſtſcript whereof ſome great buſineſs was intimated: they promiſed him his life, if he would deliver, or produce to them that letter; which, though he did not, nor indeed could, yet at laſt they pardoned him, and ſent him back to the reſt that were ſaved, and Sharrock with him. That morning Emanuel Thomſon, underſtanding that John Beaumont was pardoned, made means to have him come and ſpeak with him; which, with much ado, he obtained. Beaumont found him ſitting

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in a chamber all alone, in a moſt miſerable faſhion; the wounds of his torture bound up, but the matter and gore-blood iſſuing through the rollers: he took M. Beaumont by the hand, and prayed him, when he came into England, to do his duty to the honourable company his maſters; to M. Robinſon, and to his brother Billingſley; and to certify them of his innocence: which, ſaid he, you yourſelf know well enough.

All things being prepared for the execution, the condemned were brought forth of the hall along by the chamber, where the quit and pardoned were; who ſtood in the door to give and take the farewell of their countrymen, now going to execution: ſtaying a little for this purpoſe, they prayed and charged thoſe that were ſaved, to bear witneſs to their friends in England of their innocence; and that they died not traitors, but ſo many innocents, merely murdered by the Dutch, whom they prayed God to forgive their blood-thirſtineſs, and to have mercy upon their own ſouls. Being brought into the yard, their ſentence was read unto them from a gallery, and then they were thence carried unto the place of execution, together with nine Japaneſe and a Portugueſe; not the ordinary and ſhort way, but round about, in a long proceſſion through the town, the way guarded by five companies of ſoldiers, Dutch and Amboyneſe, and thronged with the natives of the iſland, that upon the ſummons given the day before by the ſound of the drum, flocked together to behold this triumph of the Dutch over the Engliſh. Samuel Colſon had conceived a prayer in writing, in the end whereof he proteſted his innocence; which prayer he read to his fellows the night before, and now alſo at the place of execution pronounced the ſame; then threw away the paper, which the governor cauſed to be brought to him, and kept it. Emanuel Thomſon told the reſt, he did not doubt but God would ſhew a ſign of their innocence; and every one of the reſt affirmed ſolemn-

ly at their death, that they were utterly guiltleſs: and ſo one by one, with great chearfulneſs, ſuffered the fatal ſtroke. The Portugueſe prayed over his beads very devoutly, and often kiſſed the croſs, ſwearing thereupon, that he was utterly innocent of this treaſon.

The Japaneſe likewiſe, according to their religion, ſhut up their laſt act with the like profeſſion of their innocence: ſo there ſuffered ten Engliſhmen, one Portugueſe, and nine Japaneſe. Beſide theſe, there were two other Japaneſe, the one named Soyſimo, born at Firando, and the other Sacoubo, of the ſame place; the former of which being tortured, confeſſed both to have been privy to this private treaſon, and to have offered his ſervice to the Engliſh to aid them in the taking of the caſtle: and the latter confeſſed to have had knowledge of the conſultation of the other Japaneſe to this purpoſe; but neither of them was executed, or ſo much as condemned; the reaſon whereof was not known to the Engliſh that were ſaved. They had prepared a cloth of black velvet for captain Towerſon's body to fall upon; which being ſtained with blood, they afterwards put to account of the Engliſh company. At the inſtant of the execution there aroſe a great darkneſs, with a ſudden and violent guſt of wind and tempeſt; whereby two of the Dutch ſhips riding in the harbour were driven from their anchors, and with great labour and difficulty ſaved from the rocks. Within a few days after, one William Dunckin, who had told the governor, that Robert Brown the Engliſh taylor, had a few months before told him, he hoped that within ſix months the Engliſh ſhould have as much to do in the caſtle of Amboyna as the Dutch: this fellow, coming upon an evening to the grave where the Engliſh were buried, being all, except captain Towerſon, in one pit, fell down upon the grave; and having lain there a while, roſe up again ſtark mad, and ſo continued two or three days together, and then died.

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Forthwith alſo fell a new ſickneſs at Amboyna, which ſwept away above one thouſand people, Dutch and Amboyneſe; in the ſpace wherein there uſually died not thirty at other ſeaſons. Theſe ſigns were, by the ſurviving Engliſh, referred to the confident prediction of Emanuel Thomſon above named; and were by the Amboyneſe interpreted as a token of the wrath of God for this barbarous tyranny of the Dutch.

The next day after the execution, being the 28th of February, O. S. was ſpent in triumph for the new general of the Dutch then proclaimed; and in public rejoicing for the deliverance from this pretended treaſon. On the 1ſt of March, John Beaumont, George Sharrock, Edward Collins, and William Webber, were brought to the governor, who told Beaumont and Sharrock, that they were pardoned in honour of the new general; and Collins, that he was to go to Jaccatra, there to ſtand to the favour of the governor: ſo the governor made them drink wine with him, and courteouſly diſmiſſed them, willing them to go and conſult with the reſt that were ſaved, who were fit to be placed in the ſeveral factories. Which done, and their opinions reported to the governor, he accordingly commanded each to his place, adding, that he would thenceforth take upon him the patronage and government of the Engliſh company's buſineſs, to which purpoſe he had within a few days paſt opened a letter that came from the Engliſh preſident at Jaccatra, directed to captain Towerſon, being the firſt Engliſh letter he ever intercepted; further ſaying, that he was glad he found by the letter that the Engliſh at Jaccatra were innocent touching this buſineſs. The governor and fiſcal having juſt made an end at Amboyna, diſpatched themſelves for Banda, where they made very diligent enquiry againſt captain Weldon, the Engliſh agent there, yet found no colour or ſhadow of guilt to lay hold on him; but at laſt entertained him with courteous ſpeeches,

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profeſſing to be very glad that they found him, as well as the Engliſh at Jaccatra, to be without ſuſpicion of this treaſon.

Captain Weldon perceiving the diſorder and confuſion of the Engliſh company's affairs at Amboyna, by means of the dealing of the Dutch, forthwith hired a Dutch pinnace at Banda, and paſſed to Amboyna; where, inſtantly upon his arrival, he recalled the company's ſervants, which were ſent by the Dutch governor to the upper factories. Having enquired of them, and the reſt that were left at Amboyna, of the whole proceedings lately paſſed, he found by the conſtant and agreeing relation of them all, that there was no ſuch treaſon of the Engliſh as was pretended: as alſo underſtanding what ſtrict command the governor had given to the ſurviving Engliſh not once to talk, or confer with the country people concerning this bloody buſineſs, although the ſaid country people every day reproached them with treaſon, and a bloody intention to have maſſacred the natives, and to have ripped up the bellies of women with child, and ſuch like ſtuff, wherewith the Dutch had poſſeſſed the poor vulgar, to make the Engliſh odious unto them. The ſaid Mr. Weldon therefore finding it to ſuit neither with the honour nor profit of the Engliſh company, his maſters, to hold any longer reſidence in Amboyna, he took the poor remnant of the Engliſh along with him in the ſaid hired pinnace for Jaccatra, whither the governor had ſent John Beaumont and Edward Collins before, as men condemned and left to the mercy of the governor. When this heavy news of Amboyna came to Jaccatra, and the Engliſh there, the preſident ſent forthwith to the general of the Dutch, to know by what authority the governor of Amboyna had thus proceeded againſt the Engliſh, and how he and the reſt of the Dutch there at Jaccatra did approve theſe proceedings. The governor returned for anſwer, that the governor of Amboyna's authority was derived from the lords ſtates-general of the

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United Netherlands; under whom he had lawful juriſdiction, both in criminal and civil cauſes, within the diſtrict of Amboyna: further, that ſuch proceeding was neceſſary againſt traitors, ſuch as the Engliſh executed at Amboyna might appear to be by their own confeſſions; a copy whereof he therewith ſent to the Engliſh preſident, who ſent the ſame back to be authentickly certified, but received it not again. Hitherto hath been recited the bare and naked narration of the progreſs and paſſage of this action, as it is taken out of the depoſitions of ſix ſeveral Engliſh factors; whereof four were condemned, and the other two acquitted, in this proceſs of Amboyna: all, ſince their return into England, examined upon their oaths in the admiralty-court. The particulars of captain Towerſon's, as alſo of Emanuel Thomſon's examinations and anſwers, are not yet come to light; by reaſon that theſe two were kept apart from all the reſt, and each alone by himſelf; nor any other of the Engliſh ſuffered to ſpeak with them, except only that ſhort farewell which John Beaumont took of Thomſon the morning before the execution before-mentioned. The like obſcurity is yet touching the examinations and anſwers of divers of the reſt that were executed; being, during their impriſonment, ſo ſtrictly looked to and watched by the Dutch, that they might not talk together, nor mutually relate their miſeries: but becauſe the Dutch defend their own proceedings by the confeſſion of the parties executed, acknowledging ſeverally under their hands, that they were guilty of the pretended crime; it will not be amiſs to recollect and recal unto this place, as it were unto one ſum and total, certain circumſtances diſperſed in ſeveral parts of this narration, whereby, as well the innocence of the Engliſh, as the unlawful proceeding againſt them, may be manifeſt.

Firſt, therefore, it is to be remembered, that the Japoneſe were apprehended, examined, and tortured three

three or four days before the Engliſh were attacked; and the ſame, as well of their apprehenſion as torture, was notorious in the town of Amboyna, and the parts adjoining. Thomſon, in this interim, and the very firſt day of the examination of the Japaneſe, went to the caſtle to aſk leave of the governor to land ſome rice; and brought back the news with him to the Engliſh houſe of the cruel handling of theſe poor Japoneſe. This had been *item* enough to the Engliſh, if they had been guilty, to ſhift for themſelves; whereto alſo they had ready means by the curricurries, or ſmall boats of the Amboyners, which lie along the ſtrand in that number wherewith they might eaſily have tranſported themſelves to Seran, to Bottoun, or Macaſſar, out of the reach and juriſdiction of the Dutch: but in that they fled not, in this caſe, it is a very ſtrong preſumption, that they were as little privy to any treaſon of their own, as ſuſpicious of any treacherous train laid for their bloods.

In the next place, let it be conſidered, how impoſſible it was for the Engliſh to atchieve this pretended enterpriſe. The caſtle of Amboyna is of a very great ſtrength; the garriſon therein, two or three hundred men, beſide as many more of their free burghers in the town. What their care and circumſpection in all their forts is, may appear, not only from the quick alarm they took at the fooliſh jeſting of the poor Japaneſe, made to the centinel above recited; but alſo by that which a little before had happened at Jaccatra, where one of their ſoldiers was ſhot to death for ſleeping on the watch. Durſt ten Engliſhmen, whereof not one ſoldier, attempt any thing upon ſuch a ſtrength and vigilance? As for the aſſiſtance of the Japaneſe, they were but ten neither, and all unarmed, as well as the Engliſh: for, as at the ſeizure at the Engliſh houſe, all the proviſion there found, was but three ſwords, two muſkets and half a pound of powder: ſo the Japaneſe, except when they are in ſervice of the caſtle, and there armed by the Dutch,

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are allowed to have no arms, but only a catan, a kind of ſhort ſword; and it is forbidden to all the Dutch, upon great penalty, to ſell any hand-gun, powder or bullets to the Japaneſe or Amboyners.

But let it be imagined theſe twenty perſons, Engliſh and Japaneſe, were ſo deſperate as to adventure the exploit; how ſhould they be able to maſter the Dutch in the caſtle, or to keep poſſeſſion when they had gotten it? What ſecond had they? There was neither ſhip nor pinnace of the Engliſh in harbour. All the reſt of the Japaneſe in the iſland were not twenty perſons, and not one Engliſh more. The neareſt of the reſt of the Engliſh were at Banda, forty leagues from Amboyna, and thoſe but nine perſons; all afterward cleared by the governor and fiſcal themſelves, from all ſuſpicion of this pretended crime, as were alſo the reſt of the Engliſh at Jaccatra.

On the other ſide, beſide the ſtrength of the caſtle, and town of Amboyna, the Dutch have three other ſtrong caſtles, well furniſhed with ſoldiers, in the ſame iſland, and at Cambello, near adjoining. They had then alſo in the road of Amboyna eight ſhips and veſſels, well furniſhed with men and ammunition. It is true, that the ſtories do record ſundry valiant and hardy exploits of the Engliſh nation, and the Dutch are witneſſes of ſome of them; yea, have reaped the fruit of the Engliſh reſolution: yet no ſtory, no legend, ſcarcely reported any ſuch hardineſs, either of the Engliſh or others, that ſo few perſons, ſo naked of all proviſions and ſupplies, ſhould undertake ſuch an adventure upon a counter-party, ſo well and abundantly fitted at all points. But let it be further granted, that they might poſſibly have overcome all thoſe difficulties, yet to what end and purpoſe ſhould they have put themſelves into ſuch a jeopardy? They knew well enough, that it was agreed between both companies at home, that the forts in the Indies ſhould remain reſpectively in the hands of ſuch as had poſſeſſion of them at the date of the treaty *anno* 1619; and that the ſame

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was ratified by the king's majeſty and the lords ſtates-general. What reward therefore could theſe Engliſh hope for of their valour and danger? Certainly none other than that which is expreſly provided by the treaty itſelf; that is, to be puniſhed as diſturbers of the common peace and amity of both nations.

But let theſe Engliſhmen have been as fooliſh as they will in this plot, as the Dutch will have them, is it alſo to be imagined, that they were ſo graceleſs, as when they were condemned, and ſeriouſly examined, and admoniſhed by the miniſters to diſcharge their conſciences, yet then to perſiſt in their diſſimulation; being otherwiſe of ſuch godly behaviour, as to ſpend the time in prayer, ſinging of pſalms, and ſpiritually comforting one another, which the Dutch would have had them beſtow in drinking to drive away their ſorrow? Their general and religious profeſſion of their innocence to their countrymen at their laſt parting with them; and finally, their ſealing this profeſſion with their laſt breath and blood, even in the very article of death, and in the ſtroke of the executioner! What horrible and unexampled diſſimulation was this?

It muſt be confeſſed, that this is in all reſpects a moſt aſtoniſhing and ſurpriſing relation. That the Dutch ſhould be deſirous of engroſſing the ſpice-trade, had nothing in it but what might be eaſily accounted for; becauſe of the former inſtances they had given us of their avarice, that they ſhould make no ſcruple of attacking and deſtroying the Engliſh that were ſettled in the ſpice-iſlands, and conſequently ſtood in the way of their deſign, is what might have been expected from their boundleſs ambition, by which they were become formidable even to their own ſtates: but that they ſhould take this method, which was at once the moſt barbarous, the moſt provoking, and the moſt contrary to the ſolemn treaty they had made, is ſtrange in the higheſt degree. But perhaps it may be accounted ſtill ſtranger, that, when they

they had done it, they durſt juſtify it, and juſtify it even here: this, however, they did, which produced the account we have given the reader, as appears from that very account which the Eaſt India company were not at liberty to publiſh till the Dutch made an appeal to the public themſelves.

After this, indeed, the publiſhing of their caſe could be no longer refuſed them; eſpecially as what they offered was ſupported by the fulleſt proofs upon oath, regiſtered in the court of chancery. We ſee from hence, the great conſequence of the liberty of the preſs: had it been open at that time, it had been impoſſible to have hindered the nation from receiving ample ſatisfaction for ſuch a flagrant injury, ſuch an intolerable inſult. But as it was, we are told, there was a party in king James's court, that if they did not juſtify, at leaſt excuſed this horrid fact, from the Dutch account of it.

It may not be amiſs alſo to obſerve, that at this juncture, the ſtates were actually demanding and receiving aſſiſtance from the crown of Great Britain; and that too as large in its nature, and as effectual in its conſequences, as any which they had received in the time of queen Elizabeth; and for which the ſtates expreſſed as much gratitude and thankfulneſs to that monarch, as ever they did to the queen, and, as it clearly appears, with juſt as much ſincerity. It is not likely that the tragedy of Amboyna was acted in conſequence of any inſtructions from Holland; but in the Indies they were at full liberty, and there therefore the true genius of the nation diſplayed itſelf: and the Dutch writers, in thoſe very times, boaſt, that the general of the Eaſt India company kept as great a court, and made in every reſpect as magnificent an appearance as the prince of Orange himſelf; which plainly proves, that as they hated the government of the princes of Orange, ſo they were willing that ſtrangers ſhould take notice of their independency and power in another part of the world,

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where the government was in ſuch hands as they beſt approved.

The death of king James happened in a very ſhort time after this misfortune, and the troubles of various kinds, which very early diſturbed the reign of king Charles I. put it out of his power to purſue that matter as he ſeems to have intended: for, in the beginning of his reign, he granted letters of requeſt to the ſtates-general for obtaining ſatisfaction, which, however, had no effect, neither did the king purſue that point any farther. The reaſon of this appears to have been that, finding other cauſes of complaint againſt the Dutch, he abſolutely determined to leſſen their ſtrength as a maritime power; the rather, becauſe he found them joining with the French, in order to the execution of a ſcheme which they have had always in view, of dividing the Spaniſh Low Countries with France, and then diſputing, in confederacy with her, the ſovereignty of the Engliſh claim over the narrow ſeas. This king Charles I. ſaw; and in order to prevent, found it neceſſary to fit out a fleet, which induced him to demand ſhip-money; and that began thoſe confuſions, which ended in the ruin of our government, and leaving the Dutch in poſſeſſion of all that trade, which they had acquired at our expence. Return we now to Mr. Nieuhoff.]

Part of the iſland of Amboyna is under the juriſdiction of the Eaſt India company, and part of it under that of the king of Ternate.

There was a large crocodile killed, during our author's reſidence at the port Victoria, which place belongs to the Dutch: it had lived a great while in the ditch, deſtroying the governor's poultry; and once made an attack upon his ſecretary, who narrowly eſcaped with his life.

The inhabitants were formerly pagans and canibals, but at preſent they are Mahometans and Chriſtians. The men are brave, but deceitful, and very lazy,

with thin beards and large whiſkers. Their weapons are bows, arrows, half-pikes, javelins, ſcymitars, and a kind of poiſoned arrow, the wound whereof is mortal, and theſe they blow through hollow pipes: and they are dextrous in managing fire-arms.

Our author left this place on the 3d of May, and arrived at Batavia on the 29th of the ſame month: He was ſoon after diſpatched on a voyage to the Piſcadore iſlands, from whence he went to the iſland of Teywan; which place he quitted on the 11th of December, and came on the 30th of the ſame month to the city of Malacca, the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name, which was formerly ſuppoſed to be joined to the iſland of Sumatra, by a ſmall neck of land, now loſt in the ocean. This city lies in 2° 30′ north latitude; it is populous, large, and cloſe built, ſome of the houſes being of ſtone, but moſt of them of ſtrong bamboe-cane. The ſtreets are broad and handſome, planted on each ſide with trees.

Malacca ſurrendered to the Portugueſe, under the command of general Albuquerque, in the year 1510, after an obſtinate reſiſtance; the king being obliged to fly to the woods, where he died. It was re-taken from the Portugueſe by the Dutch, in the year 1640, after a ſiege of ſix months, and in it was found a vaſt booty.

It is a place of prodigious great trade, in gold, precious ſtones, and all the rarities of the Eaſt. The harbour is one of the fineſt in the Indies, always crouded with ſhips from China, Japan, Siam, Bengal, Coromandel, Banda, Java, Sumatra, &c. The coin of this place was formerly only tin, being of great weight, but little value; but at preſent both gold and ſilver are current here, a piece of eight paſſing for two guilders and eleven ſtivers.

The natives of Malacca are tawny, with long black hair, large eyes, and flat noſes. They go naked, except a piece of ſtuff wrapt about their middle. The women are extreamly proud, very fond of gold brace-

lets, and ear-rings, as well as of precious ſtones and fine ſilks.

There is a ſpecies of men in Malacca, who can ſee only in the dark, being blind all day, which they generally ſpend in ſleeping, never riſing till ſun-ſet. They are well proportioned, and in complexion ſomething like the Europeans; their feet are bent inward, and their hair of a yellowiſh hue, is extreamly long, that of the women hanging down to their hips.

The vaſt tract of land called Malacca or Malaya, is the moſt ſouthern continent of the Eaſt Indies, comprehending, beſide, many other kingdoms.

Jor is ſituated at the ſtreights of Malacca, and abounds with lemons, ananas, bananas, citrons, as large as a man's head, and other Indian fruits. Here is alſo great ſtore of pepper, cinnamon, buffaloes, monkies, ſtags, &c. The inhabitants are brave, but laſcivious, proud, and lying, civil, and deceitful: their complexions are light-blue; their noſes are crooked, and their teeth black: they wear their nails extreamly long, and paint them yellow; length of nails is among them a mark of quality. Their richer ſort of people wear poinards ſet with precious ſtones; and Ratiſpont, king of Jor, who came on board the Dutch fleet in 1608, had a poinard by his ſide ſet with ſapphires and diamonds that were valued at fifty thouſand guilders. He had three gold chains about his neck, which were alſo curiouſly adorned with precious ſtones.

In the kingdom of Pahan are found nutmegs, mace, pepper, hogs ſtones, which are a good antidote to expel poiſon; camphire, and eagle-wood; but, above all, gold and diamonds. The capital city, which takes its name from the kingdom, is ſituated about a league from the ſea-ſhore, and is inhabited only by the nobility, the poorer ſort living in the ſuburbs. It is not large; and round it runs a wall four fathoms high, made of the trunks of trees joined one within the other very ſtrongly and compactly,

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The king's palace is of wood; the other houſes are of reed and ſtraw: the ſtreets are encloſed on each ſide with hedges of reeds, planted with coco; ſo that the place looks rather like a garden than a city.

The natives of Potany are of an aſh-coloured complexion, but well-ſhaped, proud, and oſtentatious: they are however civil in converſation, and no great ſoldiers. They are extreamly jealous; and though adultery is frequent among them, the women being extreamly wanton, yet it is puniſhed with death when found out: the criminal's neareſt relation, though it ſhould be a father, is by the laws obliged to ſupply the place of the executioner; yet fornication is thought to be no great crime.

The nobility keep many female ſlaves, whom they let out, at ſo much a month; and nothing is more common than for a ſtranger to have his choice of young women, who will bargain to live with him during his ſtay amongſt them, for certain wages. This woman, by day, does all the neceſſary houſhold offices, and ſerves as a bedfellow by night: but then a man muſt be careful to have no commerce with any other woman; and he may aſſuredly rely upon the fidelity of her whom he hires. The natives are, for the moſt part, lazy and idle, the traffic being entirely in the hands of the Chineſe. The chief riches of the natives conſiſt in lands and ſlaves, and the foreign merchants ſupply them with all ſorts of rich commodities.

From Patan the people of Lahor get rice, ſalt, fowl, and oxen: thoſe of Malacca are thence alſo ſupplied with the bezoar ſtone: to Borneo they ſend iron, ſteel, and copper; to China, pepper, camphire, ſandal-wood, both white and yellow, ſkins, ivory, &c. and to Japan, tin, lead, ſilk, &c. The country is ſo populous as to be able to bring one hundred and eighty thouſand armed men into the field. It is tributary to the king of Siam, and pays yearly ſome fine

clothes, velvets, ſcarlet-cloths, and a curious artificial flower, richly wrought with gold.

This kingdom was governed in the year 1602 by a woman, who, though a widow, was then but fifteen years of age: her name was Pratie, and ſhe kept in her court a vaſt number of ladies of honour, none of whom ſhe permitted to marry, though ſhe connived at their amorous intrigues. When ſhe went abroad, which was very ſeldom, ſhe had a cavalcade of two thouſand noblemen, all dreſſed in the liveries of her deceaſed ſpouſe.

Thirty leagues to the north of Malacca is an iſland called Dingding, with two good bays, wherein ſhips may have a very ſafe anchorage. This iſland is deſtitute of inhabitants, but has plenty of tortoiſes and oyſters. Our author ſtaid upon this iſland four days; after which he coaſted along in ſight of the land of Sumatra.

March the 5th, they paſſed by the bar of Goa, which was then blocked up by a Dutch fleet. On the 6th they came to anchor in the road of Wingurla, where they found the Bantam yachts waiting to tranſport the queen of Golconda from thence to Mocha, in her way to Medina; where ſhe propoſed viſiting the tomb of Mahomet. Her guards, which had conducted her eighty leagues, conſiſted of four thouſand cavalry, with long coats of mail, the ſhoulders whereof were embroidered with ſerpents heads, like the ancient Romans: they had bright poliſhed helmets, were armed with bows and arrows, wore long beards, and were mounted on very fine Perſian horſes.

On each ſide of every man of quality that attended her was a footman holding the bridle: the queen and all her ladies were carried in cloſe litters, concealed from public view; and they were preceded by ſeveral camels covered with rich furniture, on one whereof was mounted a kettle drummer, who performed with great dexterity.

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The Dutch commodore, and the director of the East India company, met her two leagues from the town; in which, while she staid, she dictated to her secretaries in several different languages. There was a magnificent tent erected for her on the sea-shore; the passage from whence to the shallop, which was to carry her on board her yacht, was covered with calico. It was supposed the captain of the yacht became a Mahometan; for he never returned from the voyage, the ship being brought back by the boatswain.

Wingurle lies in fifteen degrees of north latitude: it is a large village on the sea-shore of the kingdom of Golconda, where the Dutch East India company have a factory; and most ships bound to Persia are obliged to touch in their passage for wood and water. From Wingurle our author proceeded to Gambron, a celebrated city of Persia, where he arrived on the 6th of April.

Gambron is the only sea-port of Persia, lying on a flat sea-shore, in twenty-seven degrees of north latitude, just as you enter the Persian gulf; and close to it is a barren sandy mountain, which produces neither grass nor tree. It rose out of the ruins of the celebrated city of Ormus. It is defended by three stone bastions on each side, whereon are mounted many pieces of iron cannon. It is very weakly fortified on the land-side, as they fear no enemy from that quarter.

The houses stand very close together, being each crowned with a very high turret, full of air-holes, wherein the inhabitants sleep in winter. They are built of square pieces of earth, dried in the sun, which soon became hard as stones; the outsides of these are whitened with lime, made of burnt mussel-shells. Their out-houses are covered with palm-leaves, and are miserable huts. The streets are short and narrow; and though the houses slope in such a manner that they almost all meet at top, they scarcely

anſwer the purpoſe of excluding the heat, which is here exceſſive. The ſtreets are not paved, but filled up with earth; which being continually watered to allay the duſt and heat, become in time very hard. The Dutch and Engliſh have each a factory in this place, diſtinguiſhed by their reſpective flags, hoiſted on the tops of their houſes.

Water is very ſcarce here, it being brought by the ſlaves from a diſtance of three leagues every morning, and kept to cool in earthen veſſels or ſheep-ſkins. The only tree produced hereabout is the palm; but the inhabitants have plenty of Perſian wine, of a ſweet flavour, a high red colour, and pretty ſtrong: they have alſo arrack diſtilled from coco and rice; and are fond of a ſherbet, made of water, lemons, and ſugar, which if taken in too great a quantity, is apt to give the bloody flux.

Strangers who will venture to reſide here from March to October, a ſpace during which the heat is exceſſive, muſt expect to be attacked with an ague, which they can hardly ever get rid of. Moſt people then either ſleep upon leather, or in their turrets, with the body immerſed in water. Some of the richer ſort of people employ their ſlaves in pouring roſe-water down their necks.

Such ſhips as are obliged to ſtay in this port during the ſummer ſeaſon, muſt be cloſely covered up with thick ſails, otherwiſe the planks would run the hazard of ſplitting; for the pitch and tar boils up ſo hot upon deck, that there is no venturing to walk barefooted over it.

This exceſſive heat is in a great meaſure cauſed by the city being placed at the foot of a barren mountain, directly oppoſite to the ſouth, a quarter from which the wind blows during the beſt part of the ſummer ſeaſon; and the breezes, inſtead of refreſhing, are ſtifling to man and beaſt.

All the inhabitants of Gambron are merchants, who have country-houſes ten or twelve leagues from the city,

city, moſt of them lying upon the banks of a rivulet; where, during the ſummer ſeaſon, they merrily ſpend the profits of the winter: leaving their town houſes to the care of their ſlaves until the month of October, when the foreign ſhips and merchants begin to arrive, and buſineſs encreaſes as the heat ſubſides.

The ſtaple commodities of Gambron are cloth of gold, tapeſtries, pearls, Perſian wine, the beſt roſe-water, and fruits of all ſorts; as plums, raiſins, currants, nuts, dates, oranges, citrons, pomegranates, peaches, &c.

There are caravans, conſiſting of many thouſand camels, dromedaries, and aſſes, loaden with all ſorts of rich goods, from Babylon, Turky, and Perſia, brought in here annually, to be exchanged for Eaſt Indian wares.

The women are kept very cloſe, living in ſeparate apartments from the men, who lay aſide all buſineſs during the time of amorous dalliance. The women who are to be hired for money, ſit at night upon benches at their doors, with lantherns in their hands, and each man may chuſe among them as he likes. The inhabitants are of a brown complexion; and the poorer ſort, if they do not go quite naked, are very near it. The more wealthy affect the ſplendor of the Perſians in their dreſs; but ſome few, who are biaſſed to antiquity and whim, habit themſelves like their forefathers, wearing gold and ſilver rings in their hands, ears, and noſes. The common people uſe dates inſtead of rice or bread; and dates and fiſh are in general their principal food, not only here, but all along the coaſt; even their cattle are fed with date-ſtones, and the guts and heads of fiſh boiled and maſhed together; fodder being extreamly ſcarce.

About a league to the eaſtward of the city is the ſepulchre of a famous Banian ſaint, lying under a tree; the branches of which bending downward, take root again, and produce other trees, ſo forming a naturally continued ſucceſſion of arbours, to which the

people repair in parties of pleaſure, to ſhelter themſelves from the heat of the ſun. The intermediate ſpaces of ground, which are not engroſſed by the rooting of the tree, are paved with brick, and adorned with neat benches, to accommodate thoſe who are wearied. Hither ſeveral ſects of Indians repair to offer ſacrifice. Over the ſepulchre is built a ſmall pagod, wherein are many lamps burning both night and day under a ſilken canopy.

There is a ſect of Bramins who always go naked, excepting barely what decency requires: they have no regular dwelling-places, but ſleep on dunghills, or in the porches of the temple. Theſe are often to be met with, ſitting croſs-legged on the highway. They never pare their nails, ſhave their beards, or cut their hair; ſo that they have a moſt ſavage appearance. The ſtrange penances which theſe people inflict upon themſelves are almoſt incredible; for, they voluntarily ſubject themſelves to miſeries which one would think human nature was unable to endure.

Some of them have been known to continue in devotion nine or ten days, without eating or drinking: others of them never ſit; and when they intend to ſleep, tie a rope about their middles, and hang themſelves to the branch of a tree: a third ſort carry their hands always above their heads, and diſtort their eyes ſtrangely, never looking upon any body, as if it were criminal to diſtinguiſh objects; neither can the ſtinging of the gnats, nor the heat of the ſun, induce them to alter their mortifying poſitions. They beſmear their bodies with aſhes and cow-dung mixed, as well as ſandal-wood and ſaffron; ſo that they cut a moſt nauſeous figure. Theſe wretches are the principal objects of the devotion of the Indian women, who kiſs the extremities of their finger ends, but direct their adoration particularly to the privities, to which they apply their lips with the profoundeſt reſpect; and if theſe miſerable creatures ſhould chance

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to manifeſt the leaſt ſenſibility from the contact, they would be no longer ranked among the holy.

The governor of Gambron is accountable for his conduct to certain commiſſioners, who are ſent yearly to examine into it by the king of Perſia, with a power to take his head if he has acted illegally. He is obliged to meet theſe officers unarmed; but it is very ſeldom he is known to pay the forfeit. If he is found to have behaved well, he is preſented with ſome pieces of cloth by way of reward; and they enter the city together, where they feaſt for ſome days.

There are foot-poſts between Gambron and Iſpahan, wonderfully expeditious: they are appointed by the governor, who firſt tries their ability by ſetting them to run with a ſingle horſeman; and if they anſwer expectation, he gives them the title of runners, together with a ſuit of cloaths, and permits them to attend any ſtranger who comes hither for hire, when he himſelf has no occaſion for them.

The iſland of Ormus lies between twenty-five and twenty-ſix degrees of north latitude; it is interſected by a ridge of mountains, ſtretching from eaſt to weſt along the whole iſland. Behind theſe are ſeen nothing but white and barren hills, producing very fine ſalt; one of them is pyramidical, and compoſed of nothing elſe. On the top of another, which is called the Mountain of the Dead, the Portugueſe formerly built a chapel, ſacred to our Lady of the Rock, to which the natives have cut ſteps, it being naturally very ſteep. The chapel of St. Lucy is near this mountain, riſing upon the ruins of certain old towers, in which the kings of Ormus uſed formerly to impriſon their brothers, after having bereft them of their eye-ſight.

Here is a large plain, in which are kept, ſafely locked, certain ciſterns of rain-water, there being no ſprings in the iſland; and this is much better than any that is gathered either in pools or ponds, though

though it does not equal the freſh water brought from Quixome.

On the north ſide of the iſland lies the city of Ormus, once one of the moſt flouriſhing places in the world, being then frequented by people of all nations and of all religions, on account of its wealth. It was once ſaid, that if the world were a ring, Ormus muſt be conſidered as the diamond. Ormus was once one of the moſt famous cities in the world, on account of its trade, and the conveniency of its ſituation, before a paſſage by ſea to the Eaſt Indies was diſcovered; nor did the Portugueſe, after they had conquered it, neglect adding to its beauty: for, ſo far did their oſtentation extend, that the very iron of their doors and windows was plated with gold. It was ſaid, that had it remained in their hands till now, they would have turned it all into maſſy gold: and although the Perſians have deſpoiled it of its beauties, there ſtill remain glorious traces of its former ſplendor; among which an high ſteeple, admired for the beauty of its architecture, is not one of the leaſt of its conſiderable ornaments.

The fortifications of this city, when in the hands of the Portugueſe, were but indifferent. The Perſians have fortified the town much better; they have deepned the ditch, and erected an half-moon that commands a good way round. The harbour is made by two points of land jutting out, on one of which ſtands a caſtle, and on the other a church, built by the Portugueſe in honour of our lady of Good Hope. This harbour was not always ſafe for ſhipping, being too much expoſed to eaſterly winds, whereby veſſels are often driven aſhore. The governor of Ormus commonly reſides at Gambron, appointing a deputy who lives in the city of Ormus, in the palace belonging to the ancient kings.

It ſometimes does not rain in this iſland for three years; conſequently, it cannot be expected that the

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ſoil, which is nothing but a lump of ſalt, ſhould be fertile; and, if we except the products of the royal garden, there is neither graſs nor verdure, nor yet ſcarcely any thing fit for the ſuſtenance of a human creature, the ſpontaneous growth of the iſland. Many things concur to ſupport the truth of this iſland's having formerly continued on fire for ſeven years together; ſuch as, its being often ſubject to earthquakes, the ſouth winds which blow from the mountains impregnating the air with brimſtone, the earth being in many places black and red, making a moſt frightful appearance, and the vallies covered with aſhes, not unlike quick-lime; there being beſide theſe marks of a fire, a ſpongy kind of pumice-ſtone all along the coaſt, juſt under the water; and this being light, brittle, and porous, eaſily mixes, when powdered, with the water, cauſing an excellent cement, which hardening in time, proves a ſufficient protection againſt the ſeverity of the weather.

The heats here are much more intenſe than at Gambron, continuing at leaſt five months, and ſometimes laſting from May to December. During this ſeaſon the wind is ſouth-eaſt, and weſt ſouth-weſt, very ſeldom ſoutherly. It is remarkable, that this laſt wind, though it do not waft any great refreſhment to the houſes, yet cools the water, which the inhabitants every where bathe themſelves in; for they ſeldom venture to ſwim or plunge in the ſea, the ſaltneſs and heat of which would excoriate the body.

Ormus was formerly governed by its own kings, who, from cuſtoms and impoſts, raiſed prodigious treaſures, whereby they were enabled to extend their conqueſts on the continent: but what they had gained here by their arms, they afterward loſt by their neglect, giving themſelves up entirely to voluptuouſneſs, and abandoning the care of public affairs to favourites; who, preferring their own private intereſt to the advantage of their ſovereign, and the honour of their country, became an eaſy prey to the arms of

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the Portugueſe, who forced them to pay tribute, and domineered over them till the year 1622, when they were driven out by the Perſians, aſſiſted by the Engliſh; who, in conſideration of their great ſervices, were granted a moiety of all the cuſtoms to be collected in that port. All the Indian commodities were formerly brought into Europe by the way of Ormus, from whence they were carried down the Perſian gulph and the river Euphrates to Baſſora; from Baſſora they were borne upon camels to Bagdad, a city upon the Tigris, where joining ſeveral other caravans, they made a journey of forty days through the deſarts of Syria, in their way to Aleppo. From Aleppo they went to Tripoli, which lies upon the Mediterranean; on which ſea they were embarked for the different ports of Europe. The diſcovery of a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, has entirely deſtroyed this tedious and expenſive method of carriage, and conſequently been of prodigious detriment to the city of Ormus, though ſome merchants ſtill reſort thither to buy pearl; and a few Perſian ſilks are carried by land to Bagdad.

Having taken in his lading at Gambron, our author quitted it the 2d of June, proceeding along the coaſt of Malabar, intending for Puntogale in the iſland of Ceylon, to the governor of which he had recommendatory letters; but theſe he ſent aſhore by a ſmall veſſel, not chuſing to land himſelf, and went forward to Jafnapatnam.

The Dutch were about this time preparing to lay ſiege to St. Thomas; meaſures to which they were diverted by that iſland's being ſold to the pagans by the Portugueſe.

The city of St. Thomas, otherwiſe called Calamena, and by the natives Maliapor, lies upon the coaſt of Coromandel: it is one of the handſomeſt towns in all the eaſt, whether we conſider it with reſpect to the magnificence of its buildings, or the number and wealth of its inhabitants. It is fortified with a ſtone-

wall,

well, and ſeveral baſtions, having three hundred villages and towns under its juriſdiction, and being one of the moſt convenient harbours in all the Eaſt Indies.

From Jafnapatnam our author proceeded to Negapatnam, which is compounded of two Malabar words, ſignifying ſerpent and city; and is ſo named from the abundance of ſerpents, called Cobro Capellos, that ſwarm hereabout. It lies in 9° 45′ north latitude.

It appearing neceſſary to confirm an alliance with ſome of the neighbouring princes who inhabit the ſea-coaſt of Malabar; Nieuhoff was pitched upon by Mr. James Huſtart, chief counſellor of the Indies, for that department; and being ſupplied with credentials, and all neceſſary inſtruction, he ſet out on the 21ſt of January, 1664, for the city of Calcolang, attended by a ſerjeant, an interpreter, and ſeveral ſoldiers.

On his arrival in that city, notice being given of it to the king, he and an under factor of the Eaſt India company, whoſe name was Willing, were introduced to the royal preſence, and met with a reception both reſpectful and ſatisfactory. His majeſty had the character of an honeſt ſincere man; to the belief of which his countenance invited, and his actions confirmed it. The principal affairs of this kingdom were managed by one of his reſidoors; a principal favourite, who, like moſt other miniſters of ſtate, never ſeparated private intereſt from public advantage, but upon the whole, was rather ſwayed by the former.

From this place, our author ſet out to viſit the king of Porka, whom he followed to his country ſeat, about ten leagues up the country, which was flat, having a number of dykes cut through it, like the province of Holland; the land on each ſide bearing crops of rice, or being ornamented with ſtately trees: and here being no high roads, moſt people travelled by water.

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The king was rebuilding his palace, which was an old faſhioned ſquare ſtructure, wherein there was a vaſt number of apartments, ſome of them ornamented with good carved work, and the windows being either twiſted canes or tranſparent ſhells of mother of pearl. In it were alſo ſome very fine bathing rooms, which were to be aſcended by broad ſtone ſteps; ſome whereof were twenty feet in length, and a foot and a half thick.

After he had delivered his credentials, the king, who ſpoke good Portugueſe, conferred with him in private, and granted every thing that he demanded in behalf of the company, in conſideration of a ſum of money to be paid him at a certain time. His majeſty was an abſolute prince, independent of any other power; and ſo ſeverely juſt, that no man in his dominions dared be guilty of the moſt trifling theft whatſoever. He was well made, had a good ſhare of natural underſtanding, and was not above thirty years old. He was maſter of above five hundred ſmall craft, and in theſe conſiſted his principal ſtrength.

Our author having ſettled the company's affairs upon a good footing, and ſecured their trade, by concluding treaties with ſeveral of the princes upon the coaſt of Malabar, ſet out from Coulang, where he had chiefly reſided more than two years, for Toutekorin; there to ſupply the place of the company's chief director, who was ordered to Perſia upon very important buſineſs.

March the 12th, our author embarked for that city, where he arrived on the 18th, having been harraſſed by contrary winds. He ſtaid here about ſix months, and was then remanded back to Coulang, where he was ſuppoſed to be in high eſtimation, to take upon him once again the government of the company's trade in that city; leaving to Mr. Laurence Piil, the care of their intereſt at Toutekorin.

Toutekorin is, properly ſpeaking, no better than the

the chief village, there being ſix others upon the coaſt of Madura. It is a beautiful ſea-port, ſituated on a flat, ornamented with ſome good ſtone buildings; among which are three Chriſtian churches, a convent of Franciſcans, and a proteſtant chapel. The inhabitants are rather Heathens than Chriſtians, though they ſeem very attentive to the performance of divine ſervice; of which, however, they underſtand but little. They are ſtrong and black, deceitful, cunning, and amorous; paying but little reſpect to their wives, and keeping generally many favourite miſtreſſes. They feed upon meat and rice, drink nothing but water, and ſubſiſt upon pearl fiſhing, weaving, and painting of calicoes.

The captains and governors of theſe ſeven villages, who are choſen annually, ſwear fidelity to the Dutch Eaſt India company. They are principally under the juriſdiction of the nayk or prince of Madura, whoſe country is about ſeventy-five leagues long, and thirty broad, the ſea-coaſt being full of pearl; the land void of any ſort of verdure, houſeleek and thiſtles excepted; nor will even the coco, which ſprings up almoſt any where, flouriſh in this ſoil.

The country is full of noxious and venomous creatures; and ſo fearleſs are their ſerpents, that one of them caſt its ſkin in the night at the feet of our author's bed. In October, November, and December, the weſterly winds are peſtiferouſly hot; bearing with them ſuch ſhowers of light ſand from the mountains, that it is dangerous walking in the fields, for fear of being ſmothered by them.

The pearl-fiſhery lies between the coaſt of Madura and the iſland of Ceylon. Some of the banks whereon the oyſters are laid, are ſix or ſeven fathoms under water, and double that diſtance from the ſhore. The pearl-banks are rather rocks of white coral: the oyſters, when they come to be ſix years old, vomit out their pearls, which are conſequently loſt. October is the beſt ſeaſon to fiſh for them, the weather being

being then calm, and the ſea pretty quiet. The divers are covered with a thin waiſtcoat, having gloves on their hands, and nets tied about their necks; into which they put the oyſters they pick up from the rocks. To each of them is appended a ſtone of about fifty pounds weight, whereby they are carried more ſwiftly to the bottom; and this ſtone is drawn up as ſoon as they give the ſignal of their having touched the ground: they then go to work as faſt as they can, ſcraping the ſhells wherewith they fill their nets from the rocks. When they find themſelves unable to ſtay any longer under water, upon pulling the rope which ties them, one end of it being held by a perſon in the boat, they are immediately drawn up. Theſe boats, which are called toniis, together with their crews and divers, are hired for ſo much a day. The divers and fiſhermen are often devoured by ſharks; againſt which voracious creatures they arm themſelves with charms and incantations, notwithſtanding their being Chriſtians.

All the oyſters that are brought on ſhore are laid in a heap till the time of fiſhing is over, and then they are opened in a wooden houſe erected for that purpoſe, before a factor belonging to the company, and one of the nayk's agents. It often happens, that the bad ſmell, ariſing from their having been kept too long, communicates an infectious diſtemper. In ſome ſhells are often found no pearls; in others, ſix or ſeven, nay ſometimes eight. They are brightened before they are ſold, by rubbing them with powdered rice and ſalt.

Our author, in his journey to Coulang, croſſed the Balligate, which is a dreadful ridge of mountains, above a hundred leagues long; the ſurface of the earth being of a bright red, cauſes, by reflection, a moſt dreadful appearance in the ſky, upon a ſunſhiny day.

As there are no inns between Toutekorin and Coulang, wherein travellers may reſt and be refreſhed, our author was attended by ſeveral ſlaves, who car-

ried proviſions, and a guard of ſoldiers; to which laſt addition to his train he was obliged for protection from a party of Malabar robbers; who, had he not thus been defended, would have certainly ſtripped him and his people: for, they had the boldneſs to ſeize two of his followers, who were loaden with Perſian wines; however, they were put to flight upon perceiving a file of muſqueteers ready to diſcharge upon them.

May the 25th, Mr. Nieuhoff arrived at Coulang, where he took meaſures for fortifying and repairing the city; but having ſome difference with Mr. Goens, who preſided in the room of Jacob Houſtart, then at Batavia, he was ordered to the city of Columbo in the iſle of Ceylon: from which place, having ſtaid there about a year, he went to Batavia on the 20th of Auguſt, 1667, where he remained three years without being at all engaged in the company's ſervice.

December the 17th, 1670, he ſet ſail for Holland in an Eaſt India ſhip; and on the 9th of July, came to an anchor in the Texel. In a few days after, our author went to Amſterdam, where he had a conference with count Maurice of Naſſau, who was particularly pleaſed with the obſervations that he had made in his various voyages and travels; nor were the directors of the Eaſt India company leſs ſatisfied with his behaviour and conduct. In token of their approbation, they a third time appointed him one of their factors to the Eaſt Indies; in which ſtation, going on ſhore on the coaſt of Madagaſcar, he was ſuppoſed to be murdered by the natives; as he was never heard of more.

We ſhall now proceed to give his account of the iſland of Java in general, and the city of Batavia in particular; for no man could be more exact in his obſervations during his ſtay upon that iſland, he having lived upon it three years, without being employed by the Eaſt India company, as is before obſerved. His remarks not only abound with matter ſufficient

to entertain and inſtruct a curious and intelligent reader; but, upon the whole, they are allowed to be the beſt deſcription of that iſland, both for truth and exactneſs, that has been hitherto publiſhed.

The iſland of great Java lies ſix degrees ſouthward of the line. It is divided from Sumatra by the ſtreights of Sunda, the diſtance between them not being more than five leagues. Small veſſels may paſs conveniently between it and Borneo, an iſland lying to the north. It is ſeparated on the eaſt from the Leſſer Java, otherwiſe called Baty, by the channel of Balambuam; on the ſouth, it is waſhed by the main ocean. It is ſuppoſed to be near one hundred and forty leagues long; its breadth is different in many places. On the north coaſt of Java, are ſeveral good harbours, commodious creeks, and flouriſhing towns, with ſome ſmall iſlands near the ſhore.

This iſland was formerly divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, but they are all at preſent united under the juriſdiction of the king of Bantam, who is in poſſeſſion of the weſtern part of the iſland, and the emperor of Mataram, who governs the eaſtern, and by far the better part of Great Java, whereof he is ſtiled emperor by the Dutch. The land is fertile about the ſea-coaſt; but the Europeans have as yet made very little progreſs in the country, the ingreſs whereof is forbid by foreſts that are impaſſable, and the mountains that wrap their hoary heads in clouds. They have plenty of rice and ſalt, with good hogs, oxen, ſheep, fiſh and fowl, both wild and tame. The woods are infeſted with tygers, rhinoceroſes, and various other ſorts of wild beaſts; and crocodiles lurk in almoſt all the rivers. There are no vegetable productions natural to the ſoil of Malabar, which are not known here. Few climates are more temperate and wholeſome; the eaſt and weſt winds blowing all the year along the ſea ſhore, beſide the common land and ſea-breezes.

The

The coaſt is very dangerous in the month of December, on account of the violence of the weſtern winds: but the ſky is generally ſerene from May to November; when it begins to overcaſt, and rains ſometimes ſo vehemently for three or four days together, that all the low countries are laid under water. Yet, one conveniency attends that inundation, that of carrying off numberleſs broods of inſects, which would otherwiſe prove deſtructive to their fruit.

The natives of Java are proud, barbarous, cheats and liars: they have flat faces, of a brown hue, with little eyes, like the antient Chineſe, from whom they boaſt themſelves deſcended; large eye-brows, with big cheeks, and thin hair. The men are ſtrong-limbed and robuſt; wearing a piece of calicoe wrapped ſeveral times round their bodies, which, among the better ſort, is flowered with gold. The religion of the Javaneſe, who live near the ſea-ſide, has been that of Mahomet for near two centuries: the reſt of the natives are pagans, and they are all indulged in the liberty of having two or three wives, beſide as many concubines as they can keep.

Batavia was formerly no more than an open village, inhabited by pagans, and ſurrounded by a palliſado of bamboes; but ſince the Dutch have eſtabliſhed a ſettlement here, it is ſaid to be one of the fineſt cities in the Eaſt Indies. The Chineſe and Javaneſe call it Kalakka, from a ſort of cocoa fruit, which abounds in its neighbourhood: it lies in 5° 50′ ſouth latitude, having to the ſouthward a fenny ſoil, and being bounded to the northward by woods and mountains: it is watered by a beautiful river, that takes its riſe in a neighbouring mountain; and after wandering through a thouſand little meanders, collects itſelf into a body before it enters the city of Batavia, where it empties itſelf into the ſea.

Batavia is of a quadrangular figure, fortified with a ſtone wall, having twenty-two baſtions and four great gates; two whereof are extreamly magnificent, being

ing the workmanſhip of the famous John Liſting. The bay, in which it is ſituated, has ſeventeen or eighteen iſlands in and about it, whereby the violence of the waves and winds is checked and broken; ſo that the harbour, which will contain above a thouſand veſſels, is one of the ſafeſt in the world; and ſeveral barks may lie cloſe under the banks of the river, in a muddy bottom, without anchors: it is ſhut up every night at nine o'clock by a chain, through which no ſhip is permitted to paſs without paying a certain cuſtom, being guarded by a ſtrong party of ſoldiers.

The ſtreets of this city run in ſtraight lines, and are moſt of them thirty feet broad, being paved with brick near the houſes, which are handſome and commodious; each having a good flower-garden, handſomely laid out, and well ſtocked with fruits, flowers, and plants. There are fifteen ſtreets which have canals of water in them; and over one of theſe canals, which is edged and lined with ſtone, are four fine ſtrong bridges, conſiſting each of as many arches, every one of which being twelve feet broad: there are fifty-ſix bridges in this city, beſide many drawbridges without the walls, made of wood. The townhouſe ſtands in the center of the city; it is built of brick two ſtories high, the aſcent to the ſecond ſtory being by a flight of winding ſtone-ſtairs. In this houſe the courts of juſtice meet, as well as the ſenators, the directors of hoſpitals, and other public buildings; criminals are executed upon a ſcaffold erected before it for that purpoſe: the officers of juſtice, and the priſon-keeper have their lodgings within the inner court, which is ſurrounded with a high wall and a double row of ſtone pillars.

In the hoſpital for the ſick, which ſtands upon the banks of the great river, two or three hundred poor patients are provided with every neceſſary in a plentiful manner, at the company's expence.

On the brink of the river ſtand two ſlaughter-houſes, ſupported by wooden piles; by which means the offal of the beaſts that are killed are eaſily diſpoſed of in the river: here they kill twice a week, and every butcher has a particular ſtall, in which he kills his meat, being obliged to pay a tenth penny of exciſe for every beaſt, according to the value put upon it by the farmer: beef and pork, in our author's time, ſold at four pence a pound, and mutton much dearer. Oppoſite to the town-houſe, in the ſame ſquare, is a ſtructure divided into ſhops, which are occupied by the Chineſe, at the rate of three crowns a month for each ſhop; in theſe they ſell all ſorts of cloths ready made, and ſtuffs and calicoes.

The Chineſe hoſpital is a neat brick building, maintained by a tax laid upon marriages, burials, and public ſhews, as well as the voluntary contributions of Chineſe merchants. There is alſo in the ſame ſtreet a foundling hoſpital, and a little farther off a ſtructure, in which all the artiſans in the company's ſervice are lodged.

The fiſh-market of Batavia ſtands on the weſt-ſide of the river; ſupported by ſtrong wooden piles, covered with pantiles. About the middle of it is the dwelling-place of a certain officer, who ſtops all fiſhing-boats, and immediately obliges them to ſell their cargo by public cant to the faireſt bidder. The purchaſers are Chineſe, who pay the officer two-pence in the crown for every bargain he makes; and they have their different ſtalls, at the rate of two rials a month. This market is kept open from ten in the morning till four in the afternoon: the fiſh-mongers, at other hours, are to be found behind the fleſh-market on the river ſide. From four in the morning till late at night, there is ſcarcely any paſſing, the crowds are ſo very great through the fruit market, which is ſtocked with all ſorts of herbs, fruits, &c. by the Chineſe and negroes, who are obliged to pay the hundredth penny exciſe.

A printing-houſe was eſtabliſhed in the year 1667, which has met with good encouragement.

In the caſtle, which is a quadrangle lying upon a flat, are apartments for all the members of the council of the Indies, as well as for moſt of the company's ſervants; ſuch as the general book-keeper, the ſecretary of the great council, &c. but the palace of the governor, which is within the walls of the caſtle, is extreamly magnificent. It is a brick edifice, exceeding in height all the other buildings in this city; and an iron ſhip, curiouſly wrought, which crowns the turret inſtead of a weather-cock, may be ſeen a great way at ſea. The great hall is ornamented with bright poliſhed armour, beſides enſigns, flags, and other ſpoils, taken from their enemies by the Dutch, in ſeveral engagements: it is here that the governor hears and redreſſes complaints, and generally attends at prayers, which are ſaid every night.

The government of Batavia is ſettled upon the ſame baſis as that of Holland, being regulated by ſix colleges or councils; in the firſt of which all matters of ſtate are tranſacted under recognizance of the members of the council of the Indies, over whom the governor-general of the Indies preſides In the ſecond council all matters relating to the public revenue, cuſtoms, and the treaſury, are debated and decided. The third council conſiſts of the aldermen and ſenators; and herein are determined all diſputes ariſing between private citizens and the company's ſervants. This college alſo takes cognizance of the regulations of public buildings; and the chief juſtice has herein a deciſive ſentence in criminal cauſes. The fourth council conſiſts of overſeers of the orphan hoſpital. In the fifth council preſides a member of the council of juſtice, who licenſes marriages, granting none to men under twenty-one years, nor to women under eighteen; neither permitting marriages between Chriſtians and Pagans, or Mahometans; nor allowing Hollanders to wed with natives who cannot ſpeak Dutch. All matters relative to the ſoldiery and militia

litia are determined in the ſixth council of Batavia, which is called the council of war.

The eccleſiaſtical government of this city is managed by miniſters, church-wardens, and overſeers of the pariſh.

There are forts erected all round the city, though at ſome diſtance, to protect the inhabitants of the plain from their neighbouring barbarians; who, before theſe were erected, uſed often to come down and plunder their plantations.

Beſide the foot-garriſon, there is a troop of horſe maintained at the company's expence, as a guard to the general. Theſe have great privileges, and make a very handſome appearance on Sundays.

The inhabitants of Batavia are a compound of divers nations, among whom the Dutch are the moſt powerful and wealthy. Next to theſe are the Chineſe, who are perhaps the moſt ingenious cheats in the world. They farm exciſes and cuſtoms, and have a finger in every thing from whence they can derive profit. They live under a governor of their own, and dreſs in a ſilk or calicoe coat, with wide ſleeves, as they do in China, with their hair long and neatly twiſted; for here they pay no reſpect to the Tartarian edicts, which in China oblige the natives to cut all their hair off, excepting one lock. The Malayans are next in riches and trade to the Chineſe: they alſo live under a governor of their own; their houſes being covered with leaves, and planted round with cocotrees. They wear light ſilks and calicoes, and are continually chewing betel, or ſucking tobacco, through lackered ſugar-canes. In one part of the ſuburbs live many natives of Amboyna, in houſes made of wooden planks, not very low, and indifferently carved. Their women wrap a piece of calicoe round their bodies, and another round their ſhoulders, leaving their arms bare. The natives of Amboyna are ill-looking, daring, and quarrelſome; they have long black hair, and are armed with ſcymitars and

ſhields of an oval figure; they are moſt of them carpenters, and reckoned very dextrous in their way.

The houſes of the Javaneſe are built of bamboe-cane: they maintain themſelves by huſbandry, planting of rice, building of boats, and fiſhing: their boats are extreamly ſwift, turned up in the manner of horns; and for their expedition, called Flying-boats.

The country all about may be laid under water by ſluices upon occaſion; and its fertility appears by its flouriſhing rice and ſugar-fields, as well as its blooming gardens and fragrant orchards.

All ſorts of vegetables natural to Holland, Perſia, and Surat, thrive extreamly well at Java; with many other kinds natural to the ſoil: a review of all which would be too tedious.

At Batavia you ſee often large ſcorpions, of a quarter of a yard long; but thoſe of a leſſer ſize are ſo frequent, that you can ſcarce move a ſtool, bench, cheſt, looking-glaſs, or picture, without being in danger of being ſtung by them, unleſs you be very careful to avoid them. The ſmall ones are about a finger's length, compoſed of many joints, of the thickneſs of a gooſe-quill: they are yellow, ſpeckled with brown ſtreaks: before, they have two claws with two ſharp pincers; their tail is long, and lies turned upon the back, at the end of which is the ſting, wherewith they poiſon ſuch as they touch. They have eight long legs, not unlike thoſe of a cray-fiſh. The ſting of a ſcorpion is accounted mortal, unleſs prevented in a little time; though ſome are of opinion, that the ſcorpions in the Indies are not ſo venemous as thoſe of Italy and Spain. A ſcorpion bruiſed to death, or ſtifled in oil, and applied to the wound, draws out the poiſon. They ſay that a radiſh ſliced, and laid upon a ſcorpion, kills him in a minute. They have alſo another ſtory, viz. that the ſcorpion is ſometimes ſo peſtered with piſmires, that he ſtings himſelf to death in the head with his tail; and ſo becomes a prey to the piſmires.

About

About Batavia you find a kind of locuſts of a finger's length, but no thicker than a pen or gooſe-quill, diſtinguiſhed by divers joints: they walk upon ſix feet, and have two ſmall horns. The locuſts here are however of divers kinds; ſome are yellow on the belly, and brown wings, and two horns on the head: they can leap a great way, and fly together in great numbers. There is another ſort of the ſame ſhape, but green, and of a finger's length. Theſe come ſometimes in ſuch prodigious ſwarms, that they darken the ſky as they paſs, and devour all in thoſe parts wherever they ſettle.

Of ants or piſmires, there are in Java, and throughout all the Indies, prodigious quantities of divers ſorts. Some of them are above a finger in length, of a ruddy colour inclining to black; ſome with, others without wings. They are very pernicious to the fruits of the earth; and, even in their houſes, ſcarce any thing can be preſerved againſt them without a great deal of care.

There are many ſorts of ſpiders in the Indies, and of very different ſizes: ſome are above four inches long, and have very thick legs; others have eight feet, a thick ſpeckled body, and round head, with brown eyes: theſe have two teeth bent like hooks, wherewith they bite fiercely. Our author has ſeen toothpicks that have been made of their teeth.

THE

THE VOYAGE OF Mr. GROSE TO THE EAST INDIES.

HOWEVER remote the East Indies may be, the voyage thither is ſo often undertaken now by the ſhips of the ſeveral trading companies of Europe; that few occurrences in ſo familiar a navigation offer to engage the attention of a curious reader. Hence voyages thither are ſeldom now publiſhed; that of Mr. Groſe at preſent under conſideration will nevertheleſs not only give an idea of the preſent nature of Eaſt India voyages, but is farther deſerving attention, as containing likewiſe a deſcription of our ſettlements there, by an eye witneſs.

Mr. Groſe, having entered into the ſervice of the Eaſt India company in the character of a writer, embarked on board the Lord Anſon, captain Fowlis, one of the company's ſhips, bound for Bombay and China, in March, 1750; and the ſame month ſailed out of the Downs. He had a very proſperous voyage of four months, without any material occurrences until the ſhip arrived at Johanna, one of the Comro iſlands, which are ſituated near the coaſt of Africa, not far from the iſland of Madagaſcar.

On approaching this beautiful iſland, after being ſeveral

ſeveral months at ſea, it is impoſſible to avoid being delighted with its appearance. High hills covered with trees ſlope down to the ſea, forming a beautiful valley; and the whole ſcene, at a diſtance from the ſhore, affords a landſcape, that has a romantic wildneſs, which exceeds all the works of art.

The ſhip came to an anchor on the 28th of July; and was immediately ſurrounded with canoes bringing refreſhments from the ſhore, each ſtriving to get firſt to their market, the ſhip. Moſt of theſe canoes were balanced on each ſide with out-leagers, formed of two poles each, with one acroſs, to prevent their over-ſerting. The large veſſels, called Panguays, are raiſed ſome feet on the ſides with branches of trees and reeds, bound together with ſmall cord; and made water-proof, by being plaiſtered over with a reſinous ſubſtance. Few have more than one maſt, which carries a ſail or two, made either of ſheer-graſs, or cocoa-nut leaves matted together.

The Comro iſlands take their name from Comro, the largeſt of them: theſe are five in number, the other four being Mayotta, Mohilla, Anganzeja, and Johanna, which laſt lies in the latitude of 12° 15′ ſouth; they are all oppoſite the African ſhore, between which and Madagaſcar is formed what is called the Mozambique channel, from Mozambique, a ſmall iſland belonging to the Portugueſe, in which they have a conſiderable ſettlement. Comro, the largeſt of them all, is unfrequented by any of the Europeans, it having no ſafe harbour, and the people being averſe to any commerce with ſtrangers; to which the bad treatment they uſed to receive from the Portugueſe in the early navigation of thoſe ſeas, who took great advantage of the ſimplicity of the inhabitants, might not a little contribute: three of the other iſlands are alſo little reſorted to, on account of the ſuperior advantages of Johanna.

On a ſhip's coming to an anchor in the road, it is uſual to pitch a tent on the ſhore, for the reception of

of the ſick; who, though in the laſt ſtage of that dreadful diſeaſe the ſcurvy, commonly recover in a ſurpriſing manner, from the reviving influence of the earth, the goodneſs of the water, and the variety of refreſhments with which this fine iſland abounds, as oxen, goats, fowls, fruit and vegetables, all admirable in their kind.

The town of Johanna is about a mile from the place where the tents are uſually pitched, and is compoſed of about 200 houſes and huts together. Some are of ſtone, and belong to the king of Johanna, and the principal perſons of the iſland: but no buildings Mr. Groſe ſaw exceeded one ſtory high. Strangers are ſuffered freely to enter the firſt apartment; and all the reſt are reſerved for the families of the owners. The king's palace is built of ſtone and mud, and the rooms are only hung with coarſe chintz, with here and there a ſmall looking-glaſs; and yet he is the ſovereign of the whole iſland, which is about 30 leagues in circumference, and contains 73 villages, and near 30,000 inhabitants. The houſes of perſons of the common rank, have ſome reſemblance to barns: they are built of a kind of reeds tied together, and plaiſtered over with a mixture of clay and cow-dung. Their roofs are covered with the leaves of the cocoa-tree.

Every ſhip that arrives is obliged to obtain the king's licence for trading with the natives, more particularly for oxen and goats, as well as for wooding, watering, and landing the men; but this may be obtained for a preſent of a few muſkets, a little gun-powder, ſome yards of ſcarlet cloth, or other European commodities.

The natives are generally tall and well-proportioned: they have piercing eyes, thickiſh lips, long black hair, and their complexions are between the olive and the black. Thoſe of diſtinction are known by their ſuffering the nails of their fingers and toes to grow to an immoderate length: theſe are tinged of a yellowiſh red with the alhenna, a ſhrub that grows

in

in the marſhy places of the iſland. The common people have no other cloathing, but a coarſe wrapper round their loins, and a ſkull-cap of any ſort of ſtuff. Thoſe of a ſuperior rank have long drawers, a wide ſleeved kind of a ſhirt that hangs over them, and a waiſtcoat; but few wear turbans, except thoſe of great quality. The women wear a ſhort jacket and petticoat, a kind of looſe gown and a veil. They uſually adorn their arms and wriſts with a number of bracelets of glaſs, iron, copper, ſilver, or pewter, according to their circumſtances. The ſmall of their legs, their fingers and toes, have likewiſe chains and rings; and their ears are weighed down and greatly dilated with mock jewels, and ornaments of metal. They uſually carry large knives, or poniards, which are ſtuck in a ſaſh they wear round their waiſts; they have commonly wrought wooden handles, but ſome are of agate or ſilver.

The people chiefly ſubſiſt on vegetables and milk, which they have in great plenty and perfection; eating with their ſallads a kind of ſyrrup reſembling treacle, prepared from the juice yielded by the cocoa-tree on inciſion. Their language is a corrupt Arabic, mixed with the Zanguebar tongue. Their manners ſtill retain much of the ſimplicity of uncultivated nature; but the richneſs of the ſoil renders them indolent. Their religion is a mixture of Mahometiſm, and other groſs ſuperſtitions. They often divorce their wives on ſlight pretences: they have generally two or three of them, and as many concubines as they can maintain. They are very forward to beg any thing they like; but are not inclined to thieving. They have a great jealouſy of moſt European nations, particularly the Portugueſe; but treat the Engliſh with much cordiality.

On the 4th of Auguſt they weighed anchor, continued their voyage, and without meeting with any thing material in their paſſage, arrived on the 28th of the ſame month at Bombay; where our author was received with great politeneſs by the governor,

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and in a few days entered upon the diſcharge of his office, as one of the clerks of the factory.

Bombay is an iſland ſituated in 18° 41′ north latitude, on the coaſt of the hither peninſula of India, by the province of Decan; the high mountains of which are full in view. This, with the winding of other iſlands along the continent, forms a moſt commodious bay, capable of containing any number of ſhips. It is admirably ſituated for the center of commerce, with reſpect to the coaſt of Malabar, the Perſian gulph, and the whole trade of that ſide of the great peninſula of India, and the northern parts adjoining to it. This iſland is within the tropics; but the weather, in the hotteſt ſeaſon, is moderated by the land and ſea breezes; for there are very few calms, and thoſe of a ſhort duration; and then the ſultry heat may be rendered ſupportable, by keeping in the ſhade, avoiding violent exerciſe, and uſing a light diet: but every one ſhould take the greateſt care to avoid expoſing himſelf to the night dews, which are extreamly dangerous. The ſeaſons are generally divided into three, the cool, the hot, and the rainy; or into the dry weather, which laſts eight months; and into the wet, which continues about four, with ſhort intermiſſions of fair weather. The ſetting in of the rains is commonly uſhered in by a violent thunder ſtorm, called the elephanta; a name which it probably receives, in the Aſiatic ſtyle, from a compariſon of its force with that of the elephant. This is a pleaſing prelude to the refreſhment that follows, from the rains moderating the exceſſive heat, which is then at its height.

The government of the iſland is ſubordinate to the directors of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, who by commiſſion appoint a preſident, to whom they join a council of nine perſons; but all of them are ſeldom or never on the ſpot, being employed as chiefs of the ſeveral factories ſubordinate to the preſident. Thoſe at Bombay are ſuch as enjoy poſts of the greateſt truſt; ſuch as the accountant, the ware-

houſe-keeper, the land pay-maſter, and other officers for tranſacting the company's affairs. Theſe are generally ſuch as have riſen by degrees from the ſtation of writers, and take place according to ſeniority. The preſident and the members on the ſpot conſtitute a regular council, in which every thing is determined by a plurality of votes: yet the influence of the preſident is generally ſo great, that every thing is carried according to his dictates; for ſhould any of the council oppoſe him, he can make their ſituation ſo uneaſy, as to oblige them to quit the ſervice, and repair home.

The military and marine force are more immediately under the direction of the preſident; who has the title of General and Commander in Chief. The common ſoldiers are chiefly thoſe whom the company ſend in their ſhips: deſerters from the ſeveral nations ſettled in India, as Portugueſe, Dutch and French, which laſt are uſually called Reynols; and laſtly Topazes, who are moſtly black, or of a mixed breed from the Portugueſe. Theſe are formed into companies, under Engliſh officers. In this ſervice may alſo be included regular companies formed of the natives: theſe ſoldiers are called Sepoys: they uſe muſkets; but are chiefly armed in the country manner, with ſword and target, and wear the Indian dreſs, the turban, veſt, and long drawers.

Nothing has contributed more to render this iſland populous, than the mildneſs of the government, and the toleration of all religions; which is ſo univerſal, that the Roman Catholic churches, the Mahometan moſques, the Gentoo pagodas, and the worſhip of the Parſees, are all equally tolerated. They have all the free exerciſe of their religious rites and ceremonies, without either the Engliſh interfering, or their claſhing with each other. This toleration forms an amiable and a very advantageous contraſt to the rigours of the inquiſition exerciſed in the neighbouring territories of the Portugueſe; whoſe unchriſtian zeal has rendered them odious, and was one of the principal

reaſons

reaſons of their being driven out of the greateſt part of their conqueſts there by the Marattas, who are all Gentoos.

The caſtle is a regular quadrangle, well built with ſtrong hard ſtone. In one end of the baſtions is a large ciſtern, that contains a great quantity of rain-water. The town is ſurrounded with a wall, and a ditch, that can be filled at pleaſure by letting in the ſea. This renders it one of the ſtrongeſt places ſubject to the company: likewiſe at proper parts round the iſland, are diſpoſed little out-forts and redoubts; but none of them are capable of making a long defence.

There is but one Engliſh church at Bombay, which is a neat, commodious, and airy building, ſituated in a ſpacious area before the fort. This area is planted with trees, and has the houſes of the Engliſh inhabitants on the ſides: theſe conſiſt generally of but one floor, with a yard before and behind, in which are the offices and out-houſes. They are well built with ſtone and lime, and are frequently white-waſhed on the outſide; which, though it has a neat air, is prejudicial to the ſight. Glaſs-windows are but little uſed; the ſaſhes being generally paned with a kind of tranſparent oyſter-ſhells, ſquare cut, which gives a ſufficient light, and have a cool look: the flooring is uſually made of a ſtucco of burnt ſhells, that is extreamly hard and laſting, and takes ſo fine a poliſh, that one may literally ſee one's face in it.

The houſes of the black merchants are extreamly ill built, and incommodious; the windows ſmall, and ill diſtributed: but moſt of thoſe, both of the Engliſh and natives, have ſmall ranges of pillars, that ſupport a pent-houſe or ſhed, either round the building, or on particular ſides. Theſe afford a pleaſing ſhelter from the ſun, and keep the inward apartments cool and refreſhed by the draught of air under them. Moſt of the beſt houſes are within the walls, which are about a mile in circuit. The pagodas of the Gentoos are low mean buildings, that commonly admit

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the light only at the door, facing which is placed the principal idol. They are very fond of having them built among trees, and near the ſide of a pond.

There are two very pleaſant gardens belonging to the company, laid out after the European manner; one a little way out of the gates, open to any of the Engliſh gentlemen who chuſe to walk in it; and a much larger and finer one, at a place called Parell, where the governor has a very agreeable country-houſe. There is an avenue to it of a hedge and trees near a mile long.

The moſt conſiderable part of the iſland is taken up with groves of cocca-nut trees, which are planted wherever the ſituation and ſoil are favourable to them: theſe are the chief landed property. When a number of theſe groves lie contiguous to each other, a due ſpace is left for roads; and they are alſo thick ſet with houſes belonging to the reſpective proprietors, and with huts of the poorer ſort. Theſe trees are eaſily cultivated; and a perſon that has 200 of them, is ſuppoſed to have a ſufficient ſubſiſtence.

There are here alſo fields of rice, and here and there are interſperſed wild palm-trees; the chief profit drawn from which ariſes from the toddy or liquor that flows from inciſions at the top: of this liquor arrack is made, that is eſteemed better than that prepared in the ſame manner from the cocoa-nut trees. In ſhort, there is not a ſpot of the iſland left uncultivated; but it is far from producing ſufficient for the ſupport of the inhabitants. This place, continues our author, which uſed to carry terror in the name, with reſpect to its unhealthineſs, is now no longer to be dreaded on that account, provided any meaſure of temperance is obſerved; without which, health in any climate muſt be precarious.

As to the iſlands near Bombay, the firſt Mr. Groſe mentions is Old Woman's iſland, a narrow ſtrip of land, only ſeparated by the ſea at flood; it is about two miles long, and is terminated at the end by a

ſmall eminence, on which is a watch-tower. At the mouth of the harbour are two fortified rocks, called Canara and Henara.

Oppoſite the caſtle, at three leagues diſtance, is Butcher's iſland; thus named from cattle being kept there for the uſe of Bombay. It belongs to the Engliſh, who have a fort there, with an enſign's guard.

About three miles from thence, is the ſmall iſland of Caranja, which lately belonged to the Portugueſe; but with many of the neighbouring places fell under the power of the Marattas. It produces only a little rice, with goats, fowls, and garden-ſtuff, for Bombay market.

Two miles from the laſt mentioned iſland, and ſtill fronting the fort, is the remarkable iſland of Elephanta, which is only about three miles round, and conſiſts of almoſt all hill; at the foot of which as you land, you ſee above the ſhore an elephant coarſely cut in ſtone, of the natural ſize, which at a little diſtance may be taken for a real elephant, from the ſtone being naturally of the colour of that animal: it ſtands on a platform of ſtones of the ſame colour. On the back of this elephant was placed a young one ſtanding, appearing to have been both of the ſame ſtone; but it has been long broken off. No tradition is old enough to give an account of the time or uſe for which this elephant was thus carved.

On aſcending near half way up the hill, you come to the entrance of a ſtupendous temple, hewn out of the ſolid rock. It is an oblong ſquare 80 or 90 feet long, and 40 broad. The roof is formed of the rock cut flat; it is about 10 feet high, and is ſupported toward the middle, at an equal diſtance from the ſides, and from one another, by two regular rows of pillars, of a ſingular order. They are very maſſy and thick in proportion to their height, and their capitals bear ſome reſemblance to a round cuſhion, preſſed by the weight of the ſuperincumbent mountain, with which they are alſo of one piece. At the farther

end are three gigantic figures, the face of one of which, is at leaſt five feet in length, and of a proportionable breadth; but theſe monuments of antiquity were much disfigured by the blind fury of the Portugueſe, when they made themſelves maſters of the place. About two thirds of the way up this temple, are two doors fronting each other, leading into ſmaller grots, that open upon the hill. By the door-way on the right hand, are alſo ſeveral mutilated images, ſingle and in groups; particularly one that has ſome reſemblance to the ſtory of Solomon's dividing the child; a figure ſtanding with a drawn ſword in one hand, and holding an infant in the other, with the head downward. The door-way on the left hand opens into an area of about 20 feet in length, and 12 in breadth, at the upper end of which, on the right hand, is a colonade, covered at the top; it is 10 or 12 feet deep, and in length anſwers to the breadth of the area: this joins to an apartment adorned with regular architecture; it is an oblong ſquare, and has a door in perfect ſymmetry. The whole is executed in a taſte very different from any of the oldeſt, and the beſt Gentoo buildings any where extant. It is remarkable that round the cornices are ſome paintings, the colours of which remain exceeding bright and freſh. The time when this great work was performed is entirely unknown. The moſt probable conjecture is, that it was formed by the aborigines of the country; and that the religion of the Gentoos has undergone ſome revolution, ſince thoſe of the preſent age have not the leaſt tradition of its origin, or any veneration for the place, except on account of its undoubted antiquity. However, on the moſt ſultry days during the heats, there cannot be imagined a cooler and pleaſanter retreat: for though the air be all on fire without, you no ſooner enter the cave, than you are refreſhed with a ſenſible coolneſs. The three openings above-mentioned, not only affording a ſufficient light, but a thorough draught of air,

while it more particularly receives a conſtant temperature, by its being impenetrable to the rays of the ſun, from the thickneſs of the mountainous maſs above it.

This ſmall iſland contains nothing elſe worthy of obſervation, there being only two or three huts upon it, and no other water, but what is collected from the rains.

To the northward, is the fertile iſland of Salſett, which though the Portugueſe ceded to England with Bombay, we were baſely defrauded of it, in breach of all the rules of good faith: but they themſelves have been ſince deprived of it by the Marattas. There can ſcarcely be conceived a more agreeable ſpot. It is about twenty miles long, and, on a medium, eight or nine broad. The ſoil is very rich, and capable of producing every thing that grows between the tropics; and it is furniſhed with plenty of all ſorts of game. In this iſland alſo are ſeveral temples cut in the rock, ſuppoſed contemporary with that of Elephanta; but none of theſe are equal to that in bigneſs and workmanſhip.

Having treated of the iſlands, we ſhall now take notice of the continent bordering on Bombay, to which it is in a manner joined by two forts, by means of which one may paſs to it without taking boat. It is inhabited by the Marattas, a powerful Indian tribe, ſubject to the Mar-Rajah, who is their king or chief. They are generally a clean-limbed, ſtraight people; it being very rare to ſee a deformed perſon among them: their complexions are of all ſhades, from black to light brown, and it is obſerved, that they are fairer in proportion to their diſtance from the ſea. Their features are generally regular, and even delicate. They ſhave their heads, only preſerving in the middle of it a lock, at full length, ſo as to tie and hang down behind; and two curls, on each ſide, juſt above the ears. Their women are commonly very handſome, while the bloom of youth continues; but that ſoon fades: for few preſerve the charms of their ſhape

ſhape and ſkin till they are thirty, when they are generally paſt child-bearing.

The common people wear a roll of coarſe muſlin round their heads; or, perhaps, a bit of cloth or calicoe: they have a ſhort piece of cloth round their waiſts, and a looſe mantle, which they throw over their ſhoulders, and ſpread on the ground when they take their reſt. They are equally bred to agriculture and to arms; but the pay of thoſe in actual ſervice is extremely ſmall, and not furniſhed in money, but in rice, tobacco, ſalt, pieces of cloth, and other neceſſaries of life. They have extended their dominions by the ſword; and by encouraging Europeans to deſert to them, have learned the art of war, as practiſed in Europe, and can form regular ſieges: but are more fit for ſudden excurſions. Their horſes, on which they chiefly rely, are ſmall, but hardy, inured to fatigue, and ſure footed. Many of the men have muſkets; but they are very indifferent ones, and moſt of them match-locks: but their chief dependence is on their ſwords and targets; the former being of an admirable temper: they are well trained in the exerciſe of them, and look with great contempt on thoſe brought by our ſhips from Europe. Their targets are exactly round, riſing in the middle, almoſt to a point: they are hard, light, ſmooth, and well varniſhed; they will, therefore, eaſily turn a piſtol-ball, and at ſome diſtance a muſket-ball. They have alſo among them excellent ſlingers and archers.

Their diet is extreamly portable; a little rice, and a leathern flaſk for water, are all that is neceſſary; ſo that every ſoldier may eaſily carry his own allowance: nor do the officers fare more ſumptuouſly, nothing being more ſimple than their food, eſpecially during their expeditions, which they conduct with amazing rapidity, and with great addreſs.

The Marattas affect the appearance of the utmoſt poverty in their houſes and dreſs, to avoid becoming a prey to their rapacious government, which never

ſpares a ſubject known to be rich, though they are ſometimes left quietly to amaſs wealth, which is conſidered as ſo much in bank, to be ſeized whenever the government pleaſes to call for it: and here no diſtinction is made with reſpect to the office and rank of the perſons to be plundered, except of the great military officers, who are made the inſtruments of oppreſſion, and whom it is not ſafe to diſoblige. This has occaſioned immenſe treaſures to be buried; not, as has been ſuppoſed, from the opinion that they will be of uſe to the owners in another life; as is evident from their never burying them when they live under a free government.

The Mar-Rajah generally keeps his court, or more properly his head military quarters, at the fort of Raree, in the mountains of Decan; which is ſaid to be the moſt impregnable place in the world: it being a fortified mound of very high rocks, ſo ſteep as to be only acceſſible by one narrow path. The land thus incloſed, is ſufficient to produce grain enough for the ſupport of the garriſon; and beſide great quantities of corn are conſtantly kept there in the magazines. A ſmall number of men is ſufficient to defend this natural fortreſs againſt the greateſt armies that could be brought againſt it, as all the paſſages and defiles among the mountains leading to it, are extreamly rugged and narrow.

Here the Mar-Rajah moſt frequently reſides, with a kind of military court, compoſed of his generals and officers, in all the ſtate of a ſovereign prince; but both he and his court are ſo engroſſed by military operations, that they are extreamly incurious with reſpect to the manufactures and arts of the Europeans. The people in general have an high opinion of judicial aſtrology, and are ſuperſtitious obſervers of good and bad days. They are by religion Gentoos, or Gentiles; and notwithſtanding their being idolaters, are diſtinguiſhed by allowing an unlimited toleration to every other religion; maintaining that

a diverſity of modes of worſhip is agreeable to the God of the univerſe: that all prayers offered by man are rendered equally acceptable by the ſincerity of the intention; and that the forms of religion being merely accidental, all change is a needleſs experiment. Hence, inſtead of perſecuting other religions, they will not admit proſelytes into their own.

We ſhall now proceed to give a conciſe account of all the other poſſeſſions and ſettlements belonging to that wealthy body, the Engliſh Eaſt India company.

The moſt weſterly of their ſettlements, and conſequently that neareſt to England, is that of Mocha, a city ſeated at the entrance of the Red-Sea, in 13° 11′ north latitude, a place of great trade, where the Engliſh are now much careſſed, and carry on a prodigious trade for coffee and other commodities, both there and in the adjacent parts of Arabia: but one inconvenience which the company ſhares here in conjunction with other nations, is the exactions of the Arab princes.

The next ſettlement to the eaſt, is Gombroon, or Gambroon, on the coaſt of Perſia, in the latitude of 27° 40′ north, and juſtly accounted one of the greateſt marts in the eaſt. The Engliſh began to ſettle here about the year 1613; when, as a reward for the ſervices performed by that nation againſt the Portugueſe, the Shah Abas granted them half the cuſtoms of that port.* This revenue was, however, at laſt reduced to a 1000 tomans a year, that is, in our money, 3333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* but this has been ill paid. The company has ſuffered greatly by the dreadful ravages that have for many years laid waſte all Perſia; but ſtill maintain a noble factory here, where all their trade in the Perſian empire is carried on; a branch of commerce that takes off a prodigious quantity of European commodities.

On the weſtern coaſts of India they are poſſeſſed of forts, factories, or ſettlements, at Baroach, Swally,

* See Nieuhoff's account of this place, p. 453.

Surat, Bombay, Dabul, Carwar, Tellechery, Anjengo, and Conymere; all of them on the Malabar ſhore.

The Europeans, Engliſh, French, and Dutch, have lined as it were the coaſt of Malabar with their fortified ſettlements and factories. Some were obtained by force, others by inſinuation: but in general the powers in thoſe parts are not diſpleaſed with having them in their countries, to which they are undoubtedly a benefit by the protection they occaſionally afford them againſt their enemies, as well as for the trade they bring, and for the vent they procure of the natural and artificial produce of them, by which their revenue is increaſed: and to do them juſtice, it is ſeldom their faults if any quarrels with them happen. It is oftener that of the European governors and chiefs, whom private paſſions, prejudices, and intereſts, miſlead into engaging their employers into expenſive and detrimental feuds or wars; which they repreſent as honourable and neceſſary, or under ſuch plauſible, though falſe colours, as to obtain their approbation and ſanction; whilſt at ſuch a diſtance, it is hard for the miſinformation to be diſcovered. Thoſe princes who are not a match for the European artillery and diſcipline, on conceiving any diſguſt or reſentment, have fallen on a way of diſtreſſing ſuch ſettlements, not only by haraſſing them with alarms, and a war of ambuſhes to the very gates of their fortifications; but by laying a general interdict on the trade and dealings of their ſubjects with them. It is true, that themſelves are in the mean time not a little ſufferers by the ceſſation of their emoluments, and even that of the ſubſiſtence of their people; but this they can often diſpenſe with for a time long enough not to be the firſt tired. Not unfrequently too, they turn the channel of commerce into other European governments, always alert to ſupplant one another, and avail themſelves of theſe miſunderſtandings, of which they have perhaps

perhaps under-hand ſown the ſeeds, or fomented the growth.

On the eaſtern ſhore of India, or the coaſt of Coromandel, ſtands Madraſs, or Fort St. George, the capital of the Engliſh company's dominions in the Indies. It is ſituated on one of the moſt incommodious ſpots imaginable; the ſea perpetually beats with prodigious violence on the ſands, upon which it ſtands; there is no freſh water within leſs than a mile of it; in the rainy ſeaſon it is ſubject to inundations from the river; and the ſun from April to September is ſo inſufferably hot, that the ſea breezes are the only circumſtance that renders it habitable. The war carried on by the company at Bombay and Bengal againſt the Mogul's ſubjects, was a conſiderable advantage to Madraſs. The tranquillity which reigned there, and the vicinity to the diamond mines of Golconda, where good purchaſes are frequently made, cauſed a prodigious reſort of Indian and Black merchants to this place, and thus principally contributed to render it populous and flouriſhing. The town is divided into two parts: that inhabited by Europeans, called the White Town, is walled round, and can only be attacked at two places, the ſea and river defending the reſt. There are two churches here, one for the Engliſh, the other for thoſe of the Romiſh communion. The government of both towns, are abſolutely veſted in the governor, who likewiſe commands in chief in military concerns; and all the other affairs of the company are managed by the governor and his council in conjunction. The company have their mint here for coining of money from bullion brought from Europe, and elſewhere, into rupees, and this brings them a conſiderable revenue: they alſo coin gold in pagodos of different denominations and value.

The diamond mines lie at a week's journey from this place. When a perſon goes thither in order to obtain diamonds, he firſt makes choice of a piece of ground

ground to dig in, and then informs the king's officers appointed for that ſervice of his intentions. The money for leave to dig being paid, the ground is incloſed, and ſentinels placed round it. All ſtones above the weight of 60 grains belong to the king, and frauds in this particular are puniſhed with death. Some get eſtates, while others loſe their money and their labour.

This colony produces little of its own growth, and next to no manufactures for foreign trade. The Moors, Genroos, and Armenians have got poſſeſſion of the trade that uſed to be carried on to Pegu, the Engliſh being now chiefly employed in ſhip-building. The people of Surat ſhare in their trade to China: the gold and ſome copper only are for their own market: the groſs of their cargoes of ſugar, ſugar-candy, allum, China-ware, and ſome drugs, are all deſtined for Surat. Their trade to Perſia, is carried on by the way of the river Ganges. The trade to Mocho in Coromandel goods, began about the year 1713, Fort St. David, an Engliſh ſettlement, farther to the ſouth, ſupplying the goods for that market. Thus the trade of Fort St. George, like that of Holland, conſiſts in ſupplying foreign markets with foreign productions. There were ſome years ago computed to be in the towns and villages belonging to this colony 80,000 people, and 500 of theſe Europeans. The governor has great power, and is treated as a ſovereign by the rajahs of the country. He appears abroad with great magnificence, having beſide his Engliſh guards, ſeldom fewer than three or four-ſcore perſons in arms. Two union flags are carried before him, with a band of muſic, ſuch as is uſed in that country; and there are two perſons near him, whoſe office is to cool him with fans, and chace away the flies.

Bengal is the moſt eaſtern province of the Mogul's dominions, and is annually overflowed by the Ganges, as Egypt is by the Nile. It lies upon the mouth of

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the Ganges, and is bounded by the provinces of Patna and Jeſnat on the north; the kingdom of Aracan on the eaſt; the bay of Bengal, and the province of Orixa on the ſouth; and by the provinces of Narvar and Malva on the weſt; extending about 400 miles in length from eaſt to weſt, and 300 in breadth from north to ſouth.

The bay of Bengal is the largeſt and deepeſt in the known world, extending from the ſouth part of Coromandel to the river Huegley; in which ſpace it receives the great rivers Ganges and Guena from the weſt ſide; as alſo the Aracan and Menamkiori or Avat river from the eaſt ſide. But Bengal, as a coaſt, is ſuppoſed to extend only from Cape Palmiras on the north coaſt of Golconda, to the entrance into the Ganges. That river riſes in the mountains of Nigracut, part of Great Tartary, receives many other rivers, and after a courſe of 3000 miles, falls into the gulf of Bengal by ſo many mouths, that travellers are not agreed in the number of them: however, the common paſſage for European ſhipping, is up the river Huegley, one of the moſt weſtern branches.

The foreign and domeſtic trade of Bengal are very conſiderable; as may appear from the great number of Perſians, Abyſſinians, Arabs, Chineſe, Guzarats, Malabarians, Turks, Moors, Jews, Georgians, Armenians, and merchants from all parts of Aſia, who reſort there. All the Chriſtian nations eſtabliſhed in the Eaſt Indies alſo ſend their ſhipping to Bengal; and it is with the merchandize of this country that they partly make their returns to Europe, beſide what they export for their India trade. The principal merchandize at Bengal are ſilks, cotton-cloths, pepper, rice, ſalt-petre, wood for dying, terra merita, lacca, yellow and white wax, indigo, camphor, aloes, and gum gutta.

The places of the greateſt commerce, and where the Engliſh, French, and Dutch, have their beſt eſtabliſhments

bliſhments are, Calcutta, Coſſimbuzar, Huegley, Pipley, and Baliſore. The capital of the viceroy is Muxadabad, which is large and populous: and Fort William, or Calcutta, is the principal place belonging to the Engliſh company in Bengal.

There were formerly ſeveral other European ſettlements on the ſame coaſts; but all of them were abandoned, on account of the exactions of the rajahs of the adjacent countries.

The company are believed to poſſeſs the beſt part of the trade carried on in Sumatra. Their factories there are thoſe of Mocha, Bantal, Cattoun, Bencoolen, Marlborough Fort, and Sillebar. The Engliſh were alſo formerly in poſſeſſion of ſeveral ſettlements on the coaſts of the Chineſe empire, as well as in the kingdom of Tonquin; but they are now all of them withdrawn, though the Company ſtill trade to thoſe parts, eſpecially to Tonquin, for ſuch articles as they want themſelves, or purchaſe in order to ſell to the reſt of Europe, which latter are abundantly numerous. The company's factory was formerly ſettled in the iſland of Chuſan, when the trade was carried on at Amoyor, from whence it was removed to Canton.*

The Engliſh and Dutch are the only nations excluded by the Spaniards from trading to the Manila, or Phillippine iſlands; and in Japan there is not the leaſt veſtige of any Engliſh commerce, all the commodities of that empire, with which our company is ſupplied, being furniſhed by means of their commerce with the Chineſe and Dutch.

The Engliſh Eaſt India company in their trade, annually employ many ſail of fine capital ſhips, each of the burden of 500 tons, mounting 30 guns, and manned with 100 mariners.

The following remarks on the Eaſt India trade, made by Mr. Groſe, will be a proper cloſe to this voyage, and to our accounts of the Eaſt Indies.

* For a deſcription of Canton, ſee Anſon's voyage in vol. 3.

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In the Eaſt Indies, it is ſcarcely poſſible to carry on a commerce on other than a precarious, diſhonorable, diſadvantageous footing, unleſs a ſtate of force procures a reſpect to, or confidence in our arms; the country-governments of India being conſtitutionally ſuch, as ſcarce ever to neglect occaſions of oppreſſion or plunder, where they have no oppoſition, or vengeance to fear. Nor do they ever ſolidly beſtow their countenance or friendſhip, but where they can depend on a protection in the revolutions, to which it is in the very nature of their deſpotiſm ſo often to expoſe them. The merchants eſpecially prefer dealing with that nation, which they ſee the moſt powerful and able to ſhelter them from the tyranny of their own countrymen. Thence ariſes their preference of our government to live under, and to which they are of ſuch notable benefit. As mere traders, the Engliſh would never have got the footing they have, if they had not added to that character the profeſſion of arms both at land and ſea. This is ſo true, that the ſpecial privileges, fortified ſettlements, and favourable grants obtained from the ſeveral princes of India, will, conformable to their original dates, appear to have been owing to the figure our nation formerly made there in war; when its victories over the Portugueſe, who ſunk as faſt as we roſe, gave it ſuch a reputation, as that hardly any thing was denied to it. And, to ſay the truth, it is principally on that old foundation, that the extenſion of our commerce has ſince taken place. I ſay principally only, becauſe no doubt our frank, unaffected and generous national character, amidſt all the faults of ſome of our ſubjects in power there, may be ſafely ſaid, without any partiality, to have bore in the eyes of the Indians a very favourable compariſon with the ſenſeleſs, ſanguinary bigotry of the Portugueſe; with the unſocial dryneſs, imperious conduct, and keenneſs after gain of the Dutch; and with the ſuper-refined deſigning politeneſs of the French.

One of the reaſons why the Dutch Eaſt India company flouriſhes, and is become more rich and powerful than all the others, is its being abſolute, and inveſted with a kind of ſovereignty and dominion, more eſpecially over the many ports, provinces, and colonies, it poſſeſſes in thoſe parts. It appoints magiſtrates, admirals, generals, and governors; ſends and receives embaſſies from kings and ſovereign princes; makes peace and war at pleaſure; and by its own authority adminiſters juſtice to all; appoints tribunals to judge in their name, with plenary power and no appeal; puniſhes and remits offences; beſtows rewards becoming the dignity of kings; ſettles colonies, builds fortifications, levies troops, maintains numerous armies and garriſons, fits out fleets, and coins money. And though there is acknowleged a dependance upon the States-general, it may be ſaid they ſeldom exert their power; and while the republic preſerves the right of ſovereignty, it tacitly leaves the exerciſe and poſſeſſion of it to the merchants of this company. Theſe vaſt powers were, and are ſtill, requiſite to cheriſh and preſerve this flouriſhing branch of trade: and the proprietors juſtly merited them; for by their own vigilance, care, and expence, they conquered, and preſerve all the countries they poſſeſs in thoſe parts of Aſia, and their fortreſſes on the coaſt of Africa, for the refreſhment, refitting, and protection of their ſhips.

The power of the Dutch by ſea and land is very great in the Eaſt Indies; where, by force, addreſs, and alliances, they raiſed themſelves, and ſtill ſupport a great ſuperiority, in ſpite of the Engliſh, Portugueſe, and other Europeans, that have ſome trade there; but ſo inconſiderable, that, all together, is not equal to what the Hollanders ſingly enjoy. If the power of the Dutch, though great in Europe, does not put princes and ſtates upon their guard, they muſt poſſeſs a kind of univerſal monarchy or dominion in the ſouthern provinces, iſlands, and ſeas of Aſia,

Aſia, from Arabia to Japan: ſubjecting, by all poſſible ways, many of the powers of Europe to their law, in every thing reſpecting that important branch of trade; a thing which, beſide the diſhonor of it, very much interferes with their intereſt. For, in thoſe parts, Holland commands and directs every thing at pleaſure, bringing ſovereigns under ſubjection, conquering or reducing large and plentiful provinces, after it laid the foundation of its empire upon the ſpoils of Portugal, and enlarged it by preſcribing narrow limits to the juriſdiction and commerce of the Engliſh, and diſappointing or reducing that of the French and other Europeans. For this, and other reaſons, good policy ſeems to ſuggeſt, that the Engliſh, French, and Portugueſe, intereſted and aggrieved, ſhould unite in humbling the pride of the Dutch, and weakening their univerſal dominion in the Eaſt Indies, that all may live independent, and not under a ſubjection that bears hard upon their honour and commerce.

The Eaſt Indies is a bottomleſs pit for bullion, which can never circulate back to Europe; and when bullion fails, that trade muſt ceaſe. That this is the preſent ſituation of all the kingdoms of Europe, with reſpect to the trade which they carry on with the Eaſt Indies, is aſſerted by the Marquis Jerome Belloni, a celebrated merchant and banker at Rome; and this for no other reaſon, than that immenſe gulph of paſſive commerce, wherein they are involved by means of the commodities which the Europeans import from thoſe parts. For, according to this author, not only the great quantities of jewels and manufactures, with the numberleſs liquors and ſpices, the greateſt part whereof the luxury and pride of men have raiſed to high prices; render that trade ſo exorbitant; that the great advantage which the Europeans receive from America, by the great quantities of gold and ſilver, and other uſeful things, which are brought from thence, are not ſufficient to compenſate the loſs ſuſtained

tained by that exceſſively expenſive trade: but even give juſt ground to make it a queſtion, whether the money that is brought from America to Europe is more conſiderable, than that which is exported from Europe to the Eaſt Indies.

The baron de Monteſquieu, in his "Spirit of Laws," ſpeaking of the trade of Europe in general to the Eaſt Indies, not only acknowledges this truth, but alſo gives reaſons for it. "We at preſent, ſays he, carry on the trade of the Indies merely by means of the ſilver we ſend thither, which is exchanged for merchandizes brought to the weſt. Every nation that ever traded to the Indies, has conſtantly carried bullion, and brought merchandize in return. It is nature itſelf that produces the effect. The Indians have their arts adapted to their manner of living. Our luxury cannot be theirs, nor their wants ours. Their climate hardly demands, or permits any thing which comes from ours. They go, in a great meaſure, naked; ſuch cloaths as they have, the country itſelf furniſhes; and their religion, which is deeply rooted, gives them an averſion for thoſe things that ſerve for our nouriſhment. Therefore they want nothing but our bullion, to ſerve as the medium of value; and for which they give us in return merchandize, with which the frugality of the people, and the nature of the country, furniſh them in great abundance."

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.

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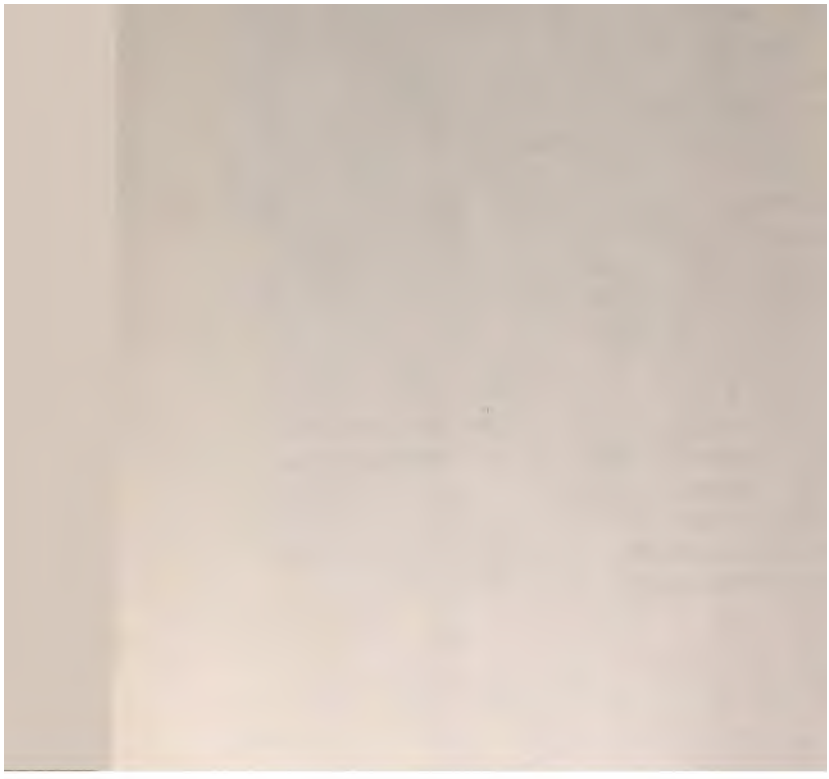

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